Jaina Religion: Its Historical Journey of Evolution

An English rendering of
"Jaina Dharma Kī Aitihāsika Vikāsayātrā"
by
Prof. Sagarmal Jain



Translated by
Dr. Kamla Jain

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"about the book"

The present book contains a detailed account of the origin and chronological development of Jaina tradition. While describing the various phases of the development, the author has very honestly accepted the impact of other contemporary religious traditions on Jainism. Apart from the causes and the historical background of the emergence of the various sects, the book also discusses all the twists and turns that have been a part of the evolutionary process of the Jaina religion right from the distant past to the present day.

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JAINA RELIGION: ITS HISTORICAL JOURNEY OF EVOLUTION

(An English translation of "*Jaina Dharma Kī Aitihāsika Vikāsayātrā*" by Prof. Sagarmal Jain)

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Publisher's Note

Jaina tradition has a very long history from mythological era to the historical era of the last Tiirṭhaṅkara Mahāvīra i.e sixth century BC and then after from Mahāvīra to present day. During this period Jaina tradition has witnessed many twists and turns but continued to develop and flourish affably along with other religions prevalent in India.

The present book is an English rendering of *"Jaina Dharma Kī Aitihāsika Vikāsayātrā"* authored by Prof. Sagarmal Jain, which he had written as the first chapter of his book *"Sthānakavāsī Jaina Paramparā Kā Itihāsa"* published by Parshwanath Vidyapeeth in 2003. In his book, Prof. Jain has given a detailed account of the origin and chronological development of Jaina tradition in a very lucid manner. While going through the book Dr. Kamla Jain, Former Associate Professor, Dept. of Philosophy, Jesus & Mary College, University of Delhi, was so impressed with the rich contents of the book that she decided to translate the same in English for a larger readership. Prof. Sagarmal Jain was happy to learn her desire to translate the work.

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Hence Dr. Kamla Jain quickly set to begin its translation, and completed it in a very short time. We are very thankful to Dr. Kamla Jain for her beautiful English rendering. She has been very close to Vidyapeeth and its activities. She has got her two books published by Parshwanath Vidyapeeth, which have been very popular among the general readers and scholars.

We hope the present title will be able to throw ample light on the History of Jaina Tradition and will be very useful for researchers and English readers.

We are thankful to Dr. S. P. Pandey, Asst. Director at Vidyapeeth and Dr. Vijay Kumar, Publication officer for managing the book through the press.

Our thanks are also due to Add-vision and Vardhaman Mudranalaya, Varanasi who composed and printed this book well respectively.

Secretary
Parshwanath Vidyapeeth

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Translator's note

The job of translation is not perfect, equally so is the translator, but the usefulness of translation surpasses these imperfections; more so when the translator genuinely sees the need and importance of it and feels that by his or her effort an important work is able to reach out to larger readership. As a student of Jaina philosophy I felt that this long essay is extremely informative on the history of Jaina religion, which aroused my interest in its translation. There is always some history in philosophy and also some philosophical concepts behind the shape of its historical progression. Philosophy makes a more interesting study in historical perspective. Thus the two are interlinked and therefore supplementary. Hence the significance of this essay by an erudite scholar of Jainism - Prof. Sagarmal Jain. This essay is for both laymen interested in Jaina religion as well as for scholars. This translation has truly been a labour of love for me.

I thank the authorities of Parshwanath Vidyapeeth for adding this book to its large stock of valuable publications.

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I sincerely acknowledge the help rendered by Ms. Indira Menon in editing this translation. My thanks are also due to Dr. S. P. Pandey, Asst. Director at Vidyapeeth who checked its proof and managed the book through the press. Hope this work successfully reaches out to genuinely interested readers of Jaina studies.

Kamla Jain
Delhi

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CONTENTS

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Chapter-1

Jaina Religion: Its Historical Journey of Evolution

(From the beginning till today)

Jaina Religion is a living faith and no living faith can remain untouched by the changes of time and place. Whenever we talk about the history of any religion we should understand that we are not talking about a static religion, because no static religion can have a history. Only that religion which has changes and movement can have a history. Those who believe that Jaina faith has remained unaltered since beginning are only living in a world of illusion. In the following discussion on the history of Jaina religion, I would like to discuss the twists and turns that have been a part of the evolutionary process of the Jaina religion right from the distant past to the present day.

Though from the point of view of population statistics of the world there are only six Jainas among one thousand people, still in the history of world religions Jaina religion occupies a distinctive place, because of its significant contribution from the point of view of intellectual liberality, philosophical depth, earnest desire of world

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solidarity, vast literature and superb art and architecture. Here, we would attempt to see the Jaina tradition in the mirror of history.

Ancient Śramaṇa or Ārhat tradition

Broadly speaking, the religions of the world can be divided into two major branches: Semitic religions and Aryan religions. Judaism, Christianity and Islam come in the Semitic category, while Parsi, Hindu (Vedic), Buddhist and Jaina religions come in the Aryan category. Then, there are religions of the Far East as those of Confucianism and Shintoism of China and Japan.

In the category of Aryan religions, Vedic or Hindu religion is considered to be predominantly *pravṛtti* (action) - centered while Jaina and Buddhist religions are *nivṛtti* (renunciation) - centered. This renunciation- centered tradition was known as Śramaṇa tradition or Ārhat tradition. Both the Jaina and the Buddhist religions belong to the Śramaṇa tradition. The main characteristic feature of Śramaṇa tradition is that it highlights the essential sufferings of worldly life and existence, and with the medium of renunciation and detachment the ultimate goal or *Summum Bonum* or *Mokṣa* or *Nirvāṇa* is achieved. This tradition of the path of renunciation with its focus on spiritual

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endeavor and establishment of moral values in the names of *Śīlas* and *Vratas* has given its special contribution to the history of basket of Indian religions. The ancient Śramaṇa tradition includes not only the Jaina and the Buddhist streams but also the Upaniṣadic and the Sāṁkhya-Yoga streams, which have become a part of broad Hindu religion. Besides these, there were some other streams that are lost today in antiquity such as *Ājīvakas*. Today, among the living religions of Śramaṇa tradition the Buddhist and the Jaina traditions have kept their identity. Though Buddhism originated, grew and developed in India it spread and got a foothold in the Far East countries, and remained lost in India for about one thousand years. But it is heartening to note that it is re-establishing itself in India. As far as the Jaina stream of Ārhat or Śramaṇa tradition is concerned, it has kept its identity in the Indian soil from very ancient times till today. In the following pages we will venture into an historical discussion on this.

In the early period of Indian history, we find signs of the existence of Śramaṇa culture; in the archeological remainsl from Harappā and Mohenjodaro and the ancient and oldest literary document- the *Ṛgveda.* On the one hand, we find a number of seals of the *yogis* in meditative postures

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excavated from Mohenjedaro and Harappā, and on the other there are clear references to Ārhats, *Vrātyas, Vātarasanā* recluses or *Munis* in *Ṛgveda.* All these are evidences of the existence of Śramaṇa or Ārhat tradition in the ancient times.

It should be known that historically speaking today's current term 'Jaina dharma' is not very old. It has been in currency only since the 6th or the 7th century AD earlier, the term used for Jaina-dharma was Nirgrantha-dharma or Ārhat-dharma. Even in these two, the term Nirgrantha is mainly used to denote the traditions of 23rd and the 24th Tīrthaṅkara Pārśva and Mahāvīra. But as far as the term '*Ārhat*' is concerned, it is essentially used in a broader sense. It is used to denote the follower or devotee of *Arhat* or *Arhanta.* And all the Śramanic traditions as the Jaina, the Buddhist or the Ājīvakas have been followers of *Arhanta.* Thus, all these traditions were included in Ārhat category. In the Ṛgvedic era both *Ārhat* and *Bārhat* (i.e. Śramaṇa and Vedic) were in the existence. And *Ārhat* or '*Vrātya*' was denotative of Śramaṇa stream. But with the passage of time, some of the sub-classes of Śramaṇa tradition got absorbed in the broader Hindu religion; and streams like the *Ājīvaka* and others got lost while the Buddhist tradition remained only in name in India, in spite of having a significant identity in many foreign lands. The

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denotation of the term *Ārhat* thus got restricted to Jaina tradition. Thus terms like '*Ārhat*', '*Vrātya*' and '*Śramaṇa*' have denoted Jaina dharma from very early times. And for this reason Jaina dharma is called Ārhat dharma, Śramaṇa dharma, or Nivṛtti-mārga dharma. But we should keep in mind that terms like '*Ārhat*', '*Vrātya*' and '*Śramaṇa*' etc. have also denoted other streams of renunciation including the Jaina stream, while terms like '*Nirgrantha*' and '*Jñātaputrīya*' have denoted Jaina '*Śramaṇas*' (monks) only. Now we would like to discuss the origin, evolution and salient features of the Śramanic cult of renunciation of which Jaina cult is a part.

The origin of the Śramaṇa Stream

Human existence is bi-dimensional and filled with self-contradictions. By nature it is centered on two different and contradictory poles. It is neither body alone nor consciousness alone instead it is a unique combination of the two. Consequently it has to function on two different planes. At the bodily level, it functions on the basis of passions and desires and is controlled by mechanical laws. But at the conscious or rational level, it is governed by conscience where there is freedom of will. At the bodily level it is bound and dependent, but at the conscious level it is independent and free. In the

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language of psychology, on the one hand it is governed by *Id* and on the other; it is influenced by *Super Ego*. *Id* or *Ego* is an effort for the expression of the bodily needs or desires and the *Super Ego* is its spiritual nature, its basic nature that expects a conscientious unity and equality without any conflicts and disturbances. It is impossible for a human being to completely ignore one or the other. And the success of his life lies in creating a balance between the two. Human's present identity consists of these two ends; and the life-stream touches both these and runs in between them. And because of these two aspects of human existence, in the field of religion too these two streams originated: the Vedic and the Śramaṇic.

Psychological basis of the origin of Śramaṇic Tradition

Bodily evolution or growth gives birth to desires and instincts and rational growth to conscience. Ignited desires expect to be satisfied by their respective objects of enjoyment and pure conscience expects self-control and detachment for its existence. Conscience with attachments is unable to take the right decision. In fact, desires live on their objects and conscience on detachment from objects. It is here, that the two different perspectives of life develop simultaneously. The basis of one is desires and their satisfaction and that

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of the other is conscience and self-control or detachment. In Śramaṇa tradition the former is described as wrong views (*mithyādṛṣṭi*) and the latter as right views (*samyagdṛṣṭi*). In the *Upaniṣads* they are called the paths of *śreyas* and *preyas* respectively. In the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* the sage says both of them i.e. *śreyas* and *preyas* present themselves to a human being. An ordinary man chooses physical well-being or *preya*, and a conscientious person selects 'good' or *śreya*. For the satisfaction of desires, the availability of their objects and the action related to them is expected. It is from this enjoyment-oriented philosophy of life that commitment to action has evolved; on the other hand for conscience, self control and for self-control awareness of spiritual values i.e. the priority of soul over the body is required. It is this that has led to spiritualistic philosophy of life or the evolution of the path of renunciation.

The first stream has led to the origination of *pravṛtti-mārga* and the second stream to *nivṛtti-mārga*. The goal of the former has been worldly enjoyment and therefore the goal for its ethical endeavor has been to acquire comforts. In the worldly life, it has been prosperity, wealth, children etc, whereas in the other- worldly life attainment of heaven- the highest state of material well being- was declared as the ultimate goal of human life. Further, when man through his own experience in

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life saw that supra-mundane and natural powers can make his attempts for material comforts, success or failure, he cultivated a belief that material comforts and conveniences are not due to his own efforts but are because of the grace of these natural powers. Thus on the one hand he started eulogizing them, and singing invocations for them, and on the other hand he started pleasing them by *yajñas* and sacrifices. And thus *pravartaka-dharma* grew and developed into two main branches: (i) faith dominated *bhakti-mārga* (ii) and sacrifice dominated *karma-mārga*.

On the other hand Śramaṇa culture in its enthusiasm of living a life of purity, free from sins and independence made *mokṣa* or complete freedom from material prosperity or possessions its main goal of life, and for this reason it gave importance to knowledge and detachment. But the life of knowledge (*jñāna*) and detachment was not possible in social and familial preoccupations. Thus, Śramaṇa culture took man to distant forests, mountains and caves. And thus it emphasized the negation of desires and body-related values and worldliness, which led the origination of the path of *tapas* rooted in detachment, while on the other side, in this kind of life rooted in renunciation, the doors for discussions and reflections, with a serious desire to know, opened. This in fact, led to

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origination of *jñāna-mārga* dominated by thought, discussions, and reflection. Thus, Śramaṇa religion or *nirvartaka* religion developed into two main branches: (i) *jñāna-mārga* and (ii) *tapa-mārga*. The following table clearly explains the evolution of these two religions based on bodily and rational aspects of human nature.

Man

(Pravartaka)	**(Nirvartaka)**
Body	Consciousness
Body	Consciousness
Desires	Conscience
Enjoyment	Detachment
Abhyudaya (Preya)	Niḥśreyas (Śreya)
Heaven	Mokṣa
Action	Renunciation
Indulgence	Renunciation of action
Pravartka dharma	Nivartaka dharma
Worshiping extra mundane power	Realization of self

Surrender based Bhakti-mārga	Yajña based Karma-mārga	Reflection dominated Jñāna-mārga	Body torture dominated Tapa-mārga

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Philosophical and Cultural components of Śramanic and Vedic Religions

The evolution of *pravartaka* and *nirvartaka* religions is based on different psychological aspects. Therefore, it is natural that their philosophical and cultural components are different. On the basis of the differences of components their mutual differences can be understood with the help of the following table:

Pravartaka Dharma	**Nirvartaka Dharma**
1. 1. Life related values are given	1. Spiritual values are given importance
2. Action-oriented philosophy of life (Do's)	2. Denial-oriented philosophy of life (Don'ts)
3. Universalistic approach	3. Individualistic approach
4. Emphasis on action but still belief in supernatural powers	4. Emphasis on renunciation of action and individual's effort for spiritual welfare
5. [redacted]-belief in God	5. Non-belief in God
6. Faith in mercy of God	6. Faith in individual's own effort and acceptance of karma theory
7. Emphasis on external means of meditation	7. Emphasis on purity of inner Self

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8. The aim of life: Svarga (heaven) or nearness to God	8. Attainment of mokṣa (liberation) as the goal
9. Approval of varṇa and jāti on the basis of birth	9. Opposition to caste system and belief in varṇa only on the basis of profession
10. Importance of *gṛhastha* (family-life)	10. Importance of renunciation (*saṁnyāsa*)
11. Emphasis on social life	11. Emphasis on individualistic life
12. Approval of sovereign power	12. Approval of democracy
13. Worship of the powerful, importance of *karma-kāṇḍa*	13. Worship of good conduct importance of meditation and tapas
14. Evolution of the class of Brahmins(purohitas)	14. Evolution of the institution or cult of Śramaṇa
15. Worship-oriented	15. Meditation-oriented

Initially in the *pravartaka-dharma* life-related values occupied prominence. In the *Vedas* also satisfaction of life-related necessities and prayers related to them were prominently expressed such as, "we live for a hundred years, our children are healthy, our cows give more milk, and we grow more vegetables" etc. On the contrary, *nirvartaka*-

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dharma adopted an indifferent attitude towards life-related values and over played the sufferings of worldly life. In their opinion the body is bondage for self (*ātman*) and the world is an ocean of suffering. The main aim of life is liberation from both the world and the body. Negation of bodily desires, non-attachment or detachment, and self-satisfaction is the *Summum Bonum* of life.

The result of the importance given to life-related values of *pravartaka-dharma* on the one hand is that it developed a positive approach towards life which has to be respected and defended from all quarters; but on the other hand, the negation of life related values by *nirvartaka-dharma* led to the development of the view which rejected bodily demands and further made body-torture its philosophy of life and also the symbol of spiritualism, *tapas* and renunciation. Since *pravartaka-dharma* laid emphasis on life related values, it naturally became society-oriented, because fulfillment of bodily desires, which include sexual desire, too, is possible only in society and in social life, whereas *nirvartaka-dharma* became individualistic and withdrawn from society. Although action or *karma* was necessary for satisfying bodily needs, but when man saw that satisfaction of his bodily desires or their fulfillment or non-fulfillment depends on some other powers besides his own individual efforts, he became a

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believer in the divine and godly powers. Man conceived different gods and the Almighty as controllers of cosmic order and natural powers and started expecting their mercy and grace. On the contrary, *nirvartaka-dharma* supported passivity in practice and because of its faith in *karma* philosophy started believing that the individual himself is responsible for his bondage and liberation. Thus *nirvartaka-dharma* began to have faith in philosophy of *puruṣārtha* or individual's own efforts. Atheism, *puruṣārtha*, and *karma* philosophy became its central features. In the field of *sādhanā*, *pravartaka-dharma* evolved a philosophy of pleasing supernatural powers through rituals (*karma-kāṇḍa*) *yajñas* and sacrifices, whereas *nirvartaka -dharma* emphasized self-purification and good conduct. And it considered performance of rituals for pleasing the divine powers unnecessary.

Śramaṇic religions and their evolutionary journey

Indian culture is a confluence of both Vedic and Śramanic streams and both have played an important role in its creation. The Vedic stream is mainly action-dominated and Śramanic stream is renunciation oriented. Present day Hinduism is representative of the Vedic stream while Jaina and Buddhist religions represent the Śramaṇa stream.

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But it would be erroneous to think that present day Hindusim is an offshoot of pure Vedic culture. It has absorbed many of the ingredients of Śramanic culture in it. In fact present day Hinduism is a combination of both the traditions. And again, it would be equally improper to say that both the Jaina and the Buddhist cultures have remained uninfluenced by the Vedic stream or Hinduism. Both of them have taken a lot from Vedic tradition in the process of time.

It is true that Hinduism has been activity-dominated. *Yajñas*, sacrifices and rituals have been predominant in it. Nevertheless, it does not lack in the concepts of renunciation, liberation and non-attachment. The elements of spirituality, renunciations etc. have not only been taken from Śramaṇa culture but have been fully absorbed in it. Even though in the beginning of the Vedic period these elements were totally absent in it, in the Upaniṣadic period these elements of Śramaṇa tradition were fully recognized by it. *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad* is the first attempt at amalgamation of the Vedic and Śramaṇa streams. The existence of the concepts of *saṁnyāsa, tapas*, renunciation, meditation and *mokṣa* in today's Hindu dharma proves this point. Furthermore, present day Hindu ḍharma has taken a lot from Śramanic culture; infact *Upaniṣads* are the meeting

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point of Vedic and Śramanic cultures, Vedic Hinduism takes a new form in them. Similarly, with the passage of time Śramaṇa stream has also taken a lot from Vedic stream knowingly or unknowingly. Not only rituals and worship-style have come from the Vedic stream but also many Hindu gods and goddesses have been subsumed in Śramaṇa culture. Before we begin our discussion on the confluence of these two streams in Indian culture we should keep in mind as to how these two streams independently developed and what were the psychological reasons and circumstances behind this, and how with the passage of time it became important for them to mutually amalgamate or synthesize.

The confluence of Vedic and Śramanic cultures

We have discussed earlier the main characteristic features of Vedic and Śramanic cultures and their cultural and philosophical elements but it would be erroneous to assume that today's Vedic and Śramanic streams have retained their original identity. It was impossible for both these streams belonging to one country and the same boundaries to remain untouched by the influences of one another. Thus where Vedic stream allowed the elements of Śramaṇa stream to enter into it, the Śramaṇa stream, likewise did the

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same (i.e. allowed the elements of Vedic stream or *pravartaka dharma* into it). Thus, in this age no religious tradition is nurturing pure renunciation (*nivṛtti*) or pure action (*pravṛtti*).

A one sided view (*ekānta*) is neither practically viable nor psychologically acceptable in the context of *nivṛtti* or *pravṛtti*. We must remember that man is a combination of body and spirit, and a social animal; as such any talk of pure renunciation and pure action is just a mirage. Therefore, it is imperative now, to understand reality and try to find a life-style of a desirable combination of both *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*, which is for the welfare of both individual and society; and that can give mental solace to man and liberate him from desire-related mental frustration and social fear. Thus, it was necessary for the two different cultures to coalesce. In this attempt Jaina religion alongwith propounding the code of conduct of monks also propounded the *Vratas* for the householder which are a mix of both *pravartaka* and *nirvartaka dharma*.

Such attempts have been going on in India from ancient times. The best examples of this synthesis in Hindusim are the representative scriptures of *pravartaka-dharma* such as *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad* and *Bhagvadgītā*. Both these

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scriptures have made a commendable effort of this synthesis of *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*. Similarly, in the Śramaṇa stream the elements of *pravṛtti* have been introduced later. Buddhism, another important form of Śramaṇa culture, has absorbed so many elements of *pravartaka* form that in its journey from Mahāyāna to Tantric Buddhism it has gone further away from its main essence. In the history of evolution of Indian religions we cannot overlook the mutual exchange of this kind with the passage of time. And because of this mutual give and take these traditions come very close to each other.

In fact, Indian culture is a culture of synthesis. We cannot understand and study it in separate compartments. Just as the functions of the body cannot be understood by dividing it into its various parts, like wise a piece meal study of Indian culture will destroy its essential from. We can understand Indian culture in a holistic manner only if its different components such as Jaina, Buddhist, Hindu religion and philosophy are studied rightly and in their colligated form. Without this the knowledge of the components alone is incomplete. To understand the functions of an engine we are not only required to study just its parts or components but also how they function by being together or as collocation of parts. Therefore this fact should be borne in mind that a study of

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Indian culture would be incomplete without a proper study and research of other traditions and their mutual relationships. Religion and culture do not grow or develop in a vacuum. They assume their status with the influences of the country, place, time and contemporary traditions. If we have to study and understand Jaina, Buddhist, Vedic or any other Indian cultural tradition we have to study it in its various aspects, time, space and related persp-ective in an authentic and objective manner. Whether it is a study of Jainology or any other branch of Indology we have to know other traditions as well, and we must see how it is influenced by other contemporary traditions and how it has influenced others. Such interactive forces have to be taken into account without which no study is complete.

It is true that we find traces of Śramanic and Vedic cultures in the history of Indian culture right from the very beginning, but we should remember that in Indian culture both these streams are merged with each other and cannot be separated. The two streams have mutually influenced each other right from the very beginning of Indian history. Though we can see them separately at the intellectual level on the basis of their own individual characteristics, however, on the practical plane they cannot be separated. *Ṛgveda* is the oldest of Indian scriptures.

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On the one hand it mentions Vedic society and Vedic rituals, on the other; it not only mentions *Vrātyas*, *Śramaṇas* and *Arhats* but has also expressed reverence for Tīrthaṅkaras of Jaina tradition such as Ṛṣabha and Ariṣṭanemi etc. This shows that in the very beginning of historical period these two cultures were concurrently prevalent. Śaivism and Sāṁkhya-Yoga traditions, which belonged to *nirvartaka*, or Śramaṇa tradition, originally got merged into the broader Hindu tradition.

The excavations of Harappā and Mohenjoḍaro reveal that there existed a very high level of culture in India even before Vedic culture which laid great emphasis on *tapas*, meditation etc. The discovery of the seals of mendicant *yogis* from these excavations and absence of *yajñaśālās* prove an important point - that it represented the culture of *tapas* and *dhyāna* or in short Śramaṇa culture or culture of *Vratis*. It is certain that the arrival of Aryans and the beginning the Vedic period showed both the streams flowing simultaneously and influencing each other substantially. The low esteem shown for *Vrātyas* in the *Ṛgveda* has changed into high esteem for them in the *Atharvaveda*, which is a symbol of the intermingling of two streams.

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The concepts of *tapas*, renunciation, detachment, meditation concentration, liberation, non-violence etc. that did not exist in early Vedic hymns and ritualistic *Brāhmaṇa* literature, came into existence in later literature like *Āraṇyakas* and post-Vedic literature specially the *Upaniṣads*. It appears, therefore that these concepts came into the Vedic stream because of the influence of the path of renunciation of Śramanic culture. *Mahābhārata* of which *Gītā* is a part does not represent pure Vedic ritualism. On the one hand, *Upaniṣads*, *Mahābhārata* and *Gītā* with their re-examination of Vedic ritualism and combining it with spiritualism have tried to re-define it and on the other hand a clear acceptance of *tapas*, renunciation and liberation etc. prove the fact that these scriptures indicate a confluence of Vedic and Śramanic thought-streams or they are the meeting point of these two cultures.

The *Upaniṣads* and *Mahābhārata* of which *Gītā* is a part do not represent pure Vedic ritualism. It is a combination of Śramanic *nivṛtti-mārga* and Vedic *pravṛtti-mārga*. Where *Upaniṣads*, *Mahābhārata* and *Gītā* have given considerable place to spiritualistic elements of Śramanic culture on the on the one hand, they have given new definitions to *yajñas* and other Vedic rituals on the other hand. The meaning of *yajña*, for example has

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changed from animal sacrifice to sacrifice of self-interest, social upliftment or social service. We have to remember that today's Hindu religion is infact, a combination of Vedic and Śramanic cultures. The voice raised by Upaniṣadic seers against Vedic ritualism has only been forcefully raised by Jaina and other Śramanic traditions. It should not be forgotten that the Upaniṣadic seers have been the pioneers in raising their voices against Vedic ritualism; they are the ones who first said that the boats of sacrifices or *yajñas* lack solidity and cannot be instrumental in spiritual growth. *Yajñas* and Vedic ritualism are defined in a new light of spiritualism by these Upaniṣadic seers and the author of the *Gītā*. The Buddhist and Mahāvīra's Jaina traditions have only followed and moved on the path laid down by Upaniṣadic seers; they are only echoing the voices of the Upaniṣadic seers against Vedic ritualism, casteism by birth and other beliefs. This is clearly proved by the fact that Upaniṣadic sages are accepted as *Arhat* sages in the Jaina and Buddhist traditions.

It is true that Śramaṇa traditions rejected the authority of the *Vedas*, animal sacrifice and caste by birth and thus, they presented themselves as reformers of Indian culture. It should not, however, be forgotten that while refining and purifying Indian culture and eradicating these deformities

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they themselves got influenced by the same deformities. Now, Vedic ritualism entered the Buddhist, the Jaina and other Śramanic traditions in their worship style along with the new forms of tantric practices and became a part of their Meditational process. Thus, meditation meant for spiritual purification came to be used for material gains. On the one hand Śramanic tradition has given the concepts or *tapas*, *tyāga*, renunciation and *mokṣa* along with spiritual philosophy of life, on the other hand the culture of worship and tantric practices of meditation entered in both Jaina and Buddhist tradition because of the influence of Vedic tradition, as early as 3rd or 4th century AD. Many Hindu gods and goddesses were accepted in Jaina and Buddhist religions. The concepts of *yakṣa* and *yakṣiṇīs* and the concept of the caretaker gods are nothing but Jainization of Hindu gods and goddesses in Jaina religion. Many Hindu goddesses such as Kālī, Mahākālī Jvālāmālinī, Ambikā, Cakreśvarī, Padmāvatī etc. were accepted as caretaker-goddesses in Jaina dharma and became a part of Jaina culture. Similarly Sarasvatī as goddess of learning and Lakṣmī as goddess of wealth started getting worshipped in Jaina tradition. The Gaṇeśa of Hindu tradition as Pārśva-*yakṣa* became the god of universal welfare. Jaina temples began to have *yajñas* etc. due to the influences of the

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Vedic tradition. And in the worship rituals Tīrthaṅkaras were invited or summoned and were relinquished (*visarjana*) like Hindu gods. Jainas accepted the rituals of worship of the Hindus with some verbal changes in expressions of the *mantras.* This is how *tapas*, meditation and *samādhi* became secondary, and worship and its ritualistic practices became primary. The result of this mutual influence was that the Hindu tradition accepted Ṛṣabha and Buddha as *avatāras* and the Jaina tradition recognized Rāma and Kṛṣṇa as *śalākāpurusas.* Thus both streams got merged with each other.

Today, we should attempt to understand this mutual influence in an objective and impartial manner, so that the gaps that have been created between different religions could be bridged and their nearness could be understood in the right perspective.

Unfortunately, some foreign elements are trying to create a divide not only between Hindus and Muslims but also between Jainas, Buddhists, Hindus and Sikhs which are all parts of the broader Indian tradition; and generally it is being publicized that Jaina and Buddhist religions are not only independent religions but are also opponents of Vedic or Hindu tradition. Jaina and Buddhist

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religions are generally painted as those who revolted against Vedic religions. It is true that Vedic and Śramaṇa traditions have some basic issues on which they differ. This is also true that Jaina and Buddhist traditions openly opposed those deformities of Vedic tradition which emerged as perpetrators of religious exploitations of lower classes by the Brahmins through priesthood, ritualism and castism. But we should understand this not in the form of revolt but in the form of reform in Indian culture. The Jaina and the Buddhist traditions have acted as medical practitioners in cleansing Indian culture and making it healthy. It has to be kept in mind that a doctor is never an enemy, but a friend. Unfortunately, Indian thinkers influenced by western thinkers and to an extent Jaina and Buddhist thinkers also, started believing that Jaina and Vedic religions are mutually opposed but it is a wrong notion. Even though in their original form Vedic and Śramanic cultures might have been different from each other, today, neither is Hindu tradition completely Vedic in that sense nor are Jaina and Buddhist traditions completely Śramanic. Today, Hindu religion or Jaina and Buddhist religions in their present forms are mixed forms of both Vedic and Śramaṇa cultures. It is a different matter that they still have *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*

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aspects predominant in them. For example, it can be said that Jaina religion is *nivṛtti*-dominated even today, and Hindu religion is *pravṛtti*-dominated; still, it would be proper to accept that both of them are the outcome of the combination of *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*. Even according to Jainism Ṛṣabhadeva before he renounced the world, expounded *pravṛtti-mārga* or duty towards family, society or state. It has already been clarified earlier that this mutual exchange is first attempted in *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad*. Thus, today when *Upaniṣads* need to be understood from the perspective of the Śramaṇa tradition, Jaina and Buddhist traditions need to be studied from the Upaniṣadic perspective. Just as desire and conscience (*preya* and *śreya*) though different, are essential aspects of human personality, Śramanic and Vedic streams are both essential parts of Indian culture. In fact, none of these cultures are based on any one single foundation. Jaina and Buddhist traditions are as much inseparable from Indian culture as Hindu tradition is. If Upaniṣadic stream though different from Vedic stream is considered inseparable from Vedic or Hindu tradition then why are Jaina and Buddhist traditions not considered inseparable parts of it? If Sāṁkhya and Mīmāṁsakas in spite of being atheistic are accepted as parts of Hindu religion and philosophy then why are Jaina and Buddhists considered

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separate by being called atheists? In fact, Hinduism is not a single religion or philosophy but is the name of broader tradition or is a collection of traditions of different thoughts and different ways of moral or spiritual endeavour. This includes all, such as theism-atheism, dualism-non-dualism, *pravṛtti-nivṛtti*, and knowledge-action. It assembles together all these i.e. right from the initial characteristics of Nature-worship to the great heights of non-dualistic thought. Thus Hinduism in that sense is not a *dharma* as Judaism, Christianity or Islam is. Hinduism is a composite tradition or a cultural stream, which includes many other tributaries.

Thus, Jaina and Buddhist religions cannot be understood as absolutely different from Hindu tradition. The Jaina and the Buddhist traditions are followers of the same spiritual thought as that of Upaniṣadic sages. The distin-guishing characteristics of these is that they worked for the upliftment of the down-trodden classes of Indian society, and paved the way for liberating Indian society from caste by birth, ritualism and priesthood. They expounded a religion for the masses of India, established it on moral values rather than on rituals. And they liberated Indian society from the religious exploitation by the priestly class. They are not outsiders. They are sons of the Indian soil. The

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Jaina, the Buddhist and the Upaniṣadic streams have all evolved from one source, and this has to be understood in this context.

The study of Indian religions especially the Upaniṣadic, the Buddhist and the Jaina, and their mutual influence are very important today. And for this study the ancient Jaina *Āgamas* such as *Ācārāṅga, Sūtrakṛtāṅga Ṛṣibhāṣita* and *Uttarādhyayana* can guide us. I am confident that the study of these scriptures can give new directions to the scholars and students of Indology; and the misconception that the Jaina, Buddhist and Hindu religions are opposed to one another will be removed. There are many *sūtras* (aphorisms) available in *Ācārāṅga*, which are very close to the Upaniṣadic *sūtras* in their meanings, essential vocabulary and linguistic style. The description of *Ātman* and its essence given in *Ācārāṅga* found in exactly the same manner as in *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad.* The concepts of Śramaṇa and Brāhmaṇa in *Ācārāṅga* appear not as rivals but as companions or associates. Though *Ācārāṅga* and *Uttarādhyayana* etc. condemn *yajñas* or rituals involving violence, they accept Brahmins as followers of the same moral and spiritual path, which is followed by Śramaṇas. In their view a Brahmin is one who is a living symbol of morality or good conduct and in many places the terms Śramaṇa and Brāhmaṇa have been mentioned

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together. Similarly, though, *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* presents an evaluation of contemporary philosophers and their opinions, it also mentions many sages of Upaniṣadic period such as Videhanemi, Bāhuka, Asitdevala, Dvaipāyana, Parāśara etc. with great respect. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* clearly accepts that the code of conduct of these sages was different from their traditional code of conduct, but still the *sūtra* accepts them as venerable persons of its own *Ārhaṭ* tradition. It talks about them as great or eminent people and rich with *tapas*, and accepts that they have attained the highest goal of *mokṣa*. According to *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, these sages, though, following a different path of conduct were sages of their own tradition. In *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* the recognition of these sages as great ones who had achieved the highest goal, and also *Uttarādhyayana* accepting the identities of other (*anyaliṅga*) *siddhas* suggest that in olden times Jaina tradition was liberal enough to accept that not only those following its own code of conduct but also those following a different culture or code of conduct are capable of attaining liberation. The only condition, however, is that they be of steadfast mind and free from desire, attachment and hatred.

In this context it is necessary to mention the name of *Ṛṣibhāṣita*, which is the oldest Jaina scripture of 4th century BC. In the Jaina tradition, this text was probably written when Jaina religion

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was not fully developed. This text mentions a list of about forty five sages which include sages like Nārada, Asitadevala, Aṅgirasa, Parāśara, Aruṇa, Nārāyaṇa, Yajñavalkya, Uddālaka, Vidura, Sāriputta, Mahākaśyapa, Makkhali Gośāla, Sañjaya Velaṭṭhiputta, etc. and all of them are called *Arhat-ṛṣis*, *Buddha-ṛṣis* or *Brāhmaṇa-ṛṣis*. *Ṛṣibhāṣita* contains a collection of their spiritual and moral discourses. The writing of this text in Jaina tradition clearly indicates the fact that the tradition of Upaniṣadic sages and that of Jaina sages have a common source. This text not only indicates the religious open mindedness of Jaina tradition but also points to the fact that all Indian spiritual traditions have one and the same source. All the streams, Upaniṣadic, Buddhist, Jaina, Ājīvakas, Sāṁkhya, Yoga etc. are just different streams from one and the same original source. Just as *Ṛṣibhāṣita* of Jaina tradition contains the discourses of different traditions, so also *Theragāthā* of Buddhist tradition contains the teachings of sages (*sthaviras*) of different traditions. It, likewise, includes the names of many Upaniṣadic and other *Ācāryas* of Śramaṇa tradition while including the name of Mahāvīra. All these descriptions are pointers to the fact that Indian thought has been magnanimous and tolerant right from ancient times. This magnanimity and tolerance is running through

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every stream of Indian culture. Today when we are entangled in communalism attachments and mutual conflicts, a comparative study of these streams of our culture can give a new vision. If we study these steams of Indian cultural thought as separate identities, we would not be successful in understanding them fully and correctly. Just as in the study and understanding of *Uttarādhyayana, Sūtrakṛtāṅga, Ṛṣibhāṣita*, and *Ācārāṅga* we need to study the Upaniṣadic literature, similarly we cannot study the Upaniṣadic literature and the Buddhist literature without studying the literature of Jaina tradition. The discovery of truth with objective and comparative approach by overcoming sectarian attachments is the only option today which can liberate man engulfed in sectarian conflicts, and can clearly underline the interrelatedness of Indian religions.

The contribution of Jainism to Vedic religion

The main problem of the Upaniṣadic period and Mahāvīra's period was that many traditions prevalent in those times thought that their own one sided view was absolutely true and thus they stood in opposition with each other. There were four main categories of thinkers (i) *Kriyāvādins* (2) *Akriyāvādins* (3) *Vinayavādins* (4) *Ajñānavādins.* Mahāvīra was the first to attempt a synthesis of

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these. First *Kriyāvādins* emphasized more on the outer aspects of conduct. Theirs was a predominantly ritualistic category. In the Buddhist tradition this concept is called '*śīla-vrata-parāmarśa*'; the second is *Akriyāvāda.* The essential bases of *Akriyāvāda* or *Jñānavāda* were either different kinds of fatalistic viewpoints or those who nourished the philosophical concept of *Ātman* as unchanging and imperishable and inactive reality. These traditions were exponents of *Jñāna-mārga.* For *Kriyāvādins, karmas* or rituals are everything in spiritual endeavour, for *Jñānavādins* or *Akriyāvādins* knowledge is everything for spiritual endeavour. *Kriyāvāda* propounded action or ritual and *Akriyāvāda* promulgated knowledge as ultimate. A third category of *Ajñānavādins* was of the view that the realm beyond sensible and the mundane world is just unknowable (*ajñeya*). Its philosophy took two forms: (i) mysticism (ii) skepticism. Other than these three there was a fourth tradition called *Vinayavāda,* which is accepted as the prior form of *bhakti-mārga. Vinayavāda* is another name of *bhakti-mārga.* Thus, in that period the traditions of *Jñāna-mārga, Karma-mārga, Bhakti-mārga* and *Ajñeyavāda* were established in different forms. Mahāvīra tried to explore a synthesis of the above

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with his non-absolutistic (*anaikāntika*) approach. First of all he propounded a three-fold principle of right attitude, right knowledge and right conduct, which represented a balanced combination of *Jñāna-mārga*, *Karma-mārga* and *Bhakti-mārga*. Thus, Mahāvīra and Jaina philosophy made the first attempt to balance and synthesize these one sided traditions of *jñāna*, *karma*, *bhakti* and *tapas* etc. Whereas the *Gītā* treats *jñāna-yoga*, *karma-yoga* and *bhakti-yoga* as three different paths to liberation, Jaina religion professes an integrated approach where all the three jointly form the path of liberation.

Jaina religion not only opposed the *yajña* related ritualistic tradition propounded by Vedic sages, but also opposed the tāpasic style of torture of body. Probably, before Mahāvīra till the time of Pārśvanātha dharma was related only to external aspects. It is because of this, the Brahmin class considered the end of *dharma* only in *yajñas* and their related rituals. Probably, Pārśvanātha emphasized internal aspects of spiritual endeavour, in place of external aspects. Consequently, in other Śramanic traditions like the Buddhist etc. also began to emphasize the inner aspects of *dharma*. But till the time of Mahāvīra, the emphasis on external aspects was not fully over, rather the

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culture of *yajñas, śraddhā* etc. spread even more in the Brāhmaṇa tradition. On the other hand, the thinkers who were emphasizing on internal aspects started ignoring the external aspects of spiritual endeavour completely; with the result, they also reached an extreme form of one-sidedness. Therefore, Mahāvīra tried to establish a synthesis of these two and said that religious endeavour is connected with life as a whole; and in that the internal inspirational force is even more important than external action or rituals in conduct.

Thus, Mahāvīra emphasized on both (i) the inspirational aspects of conduct (2) the consequences of conduct in religious life. He established a harmony between both knowledge and action. In *Narasiṁhapurāṇa* (61/9/11) also, like *Āvaśyaka-niryukti* (p. 15-17) the combi-nation of both knowledge and action has been described in many ways with examples or allegories. This proves that this thought-process of the Jaina tradition has influenced the Hindu tradition.

Proclamation of equality of Man

Among the social problems of that period the institution of *Varṇa* was a major or significant problem. It was birth that was considered as the basis of *Varṇa* rather than one's station and one's personality traits or talent. With the result the

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institution of *Varṇa* got distorted and led to the division of society into higher and lower castes, and that in turn led to a disharmony in social health. Jaina thought-process was opposed to this kind of caste system, and proclaimed the equality of mankind. On the one hand Harikeśibala of lower caste was ordained and on the other hand the aspirant like Gautama who was a Brahmin by birth was initiated in the spiritual order with the same sense of equality. Not only were caste differences considered meaningless, economic disparity was also disapproved of. For example, in their viewpoint the Emperor of Magadha and Puniā an ordinary householder, were regarded as equals in Jaina tradition. Thus, Jaina tradition by rejecting the concept of higher and lower class structure emphasized on equality of man. This also had an influence on Hindu tradition, and thus in the post-Gupta Bhakti period there was an opposition to the institution of *varṇa* and the supremacy of the Brahmin class. In fact, the influence is evident during the period in which the *Mahābhārata* was written (i.e. about 4th century AD).

Liberation from subjugation to God and independence of Man

The other problem of that period was that man's independence was being ranked low in the

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eyes of people and society. On one side were theistic thinkers and on the other were eternalists or fatalists who began to reject the independence of man. Jaina philosophy understood this difficulty and revitalized the spirit of human independence. It proclaimed that neither God nor any other divine power is the determining force of human being; it is only man himself who is the creator of his own being. Thus, it liberated him from the concepts of creatorship of God, which was taking away human independence, and established that the staunch faith in human independence alone can become the true basis of religion and philosophy. This view of the Jainas did not have as much influence on Hindu religion as was expected, but still, along with the acceptance of theistic philosophy the voices about human supremacy did resound simultaneously.

Freedom from obscurantism (Orthodoxy)

Jaina religion liberated man from obscurantisms. It made an effort to free human society from many orthodox practices of that period such as animal-sacrifice, priesthood and performance of rituals to please the ancestors etc. and therefore it openly opposed such practices. The Brahmin class, which called itself, the representative of God, began social exploitation,

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which the Jaina and Buddhist traditions tried to stop. The most important contribution of the Jaina and the Buddhist *Ācāryas* was the re-defining of the notions of *yajñas* etc. Some new definitions given to terms like *'Brāhmaṇa'*, *'yajña'* etc by the Jaina Dharma are given below.

New meaning of Brāhmaṇa

Jaina tradition always accepted good conduct as the standard of greatness or smallness in human life, and that was called the basis of Brahminhood. In the 25th chapter of *Uttarādhyayana* and in the 'Brāhmaṇa' chapter of *Dhammapada* detailed discussions on the true meaning of Brāhmaṇa are available. We will stop this discussion by just presenting only two verses, as it would be too lengthy a discussion if taken in detail. *Uttarādhyayana* says, "A true Brāhmaṇa is one who is not attached to enjoyments of life, though born with objects of enjoyment like the lotus though born in water remains detached from it." "One who is completely free from attachment, hatred and fear and is pure at heart is a true Brāhmaṇa". Similarly, *Dhammapada* also says, "Just as a lotus leaf remains untouched by water, and mustard seed stays on the tip of the cutter similarly one who remains unsmeared by desires

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and passions and who has seen the fears of sufferings here itself, one who has rid himself of the pangs of birth and death who is totally detached, who is gifted, who is able to differentiate between right and wrong path and who has reached the highest state of *Nirvāṇa* is one whom I call a true Brāhmaṇa." Thus, we see that both the Jaina and the Buddhist traditions have presented a new definition of the term 'Brāhmaṇa' by accepting the superiority of Brahminhood, which is quite in accordance to the Śramaṇa tradition but even the great epic of *Mahābhārata* of Hindu tradition has also given this definition of Brāhmaṇa. *Uttarādhyayana* of the Jainas, *Dhammapada* of the Buddhists, and *Śāntiparva* of *Mahābhārata* give a description of a true Brāhmaṇa, which is not only conceptually similar but also has great verbal similarity. It is very significant from the point of view of a comparative study and also clarifies their influences on each other.

The spiritual meaning of Yajña

Just as the term Brāhmaṇa has been given a new definition, *yajña*' has also been defined with a new connotation. Mahāvīra not only expressed his views against *yajñas* involving violence but he also presented new spiritual and self-control based

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definitions of *yajñas*. *Uttarādhyayana* has discussed and elucidated the spiritual essence of *yajñas* and has said, "*Tapas* (self-control) is fire *Ātman* is the altar, the activities of mind, speech and body are the ladles and the burning of *karmas* the oblation. It is this *yajña* replete with self-control that brings peace and happiness; the sages have praised this kind of *yajña*". As a result not only the Jaina tradition, but the Buddhist and the Vedic tradition also have denounced the outward sacrificial aspect of *yajña* and presented a spiritual picture of it in the same way in which it is discussed in *Uttarādhyayana*. In *Aṅguttara-nikāya* while describing the spiritual nature of *yajña*, Buddha says, "Oh Brāhmaṇa! These three fires are worth renouncing and worth changing; they should not be in use. Oh Brāhmaṇa! Following three fires should be respected, worshipped and they should be fully and happily taken care of. Which are these fires? - *Āhvānīyāgni*, *Gārhapatyāgni* and *Dakṣiṇāgni*. Parents should be respected and adored like *Āhvānīyāgni*. *Śramaṇas* and *Brāhmaṇas* should be respected like *Dakṣiṇāgni*. This fire of wood needs to be burnt sometimes and sometimes needs to be ignored while at another time needs to be extinguished. But these fires are always and everywhere respected and worshipped. Likewise

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Buddha also highlighted the spiritual and social meaning of *yajñas* in place of *yajñas* that involve violence. Not only this, he emphasized that true *yajña* means cooperation in social life. The *Upaniṣad* and the *Gītā* also, condemn the prevalent ritual of *yajñas* etc., which is quite similar to the viewpoint of Śramanic tradition, and they have also explained *yajña* from the social and spiritual point of view. In social context *yajña* has been interpreted as social service. Social service without attachment is recognized in the *Gītā* as *yajña*. The *Gītā* however, has shown the spiritual aspect of *yajña* as well. It (the *Gītā*) says: the *yogis* put the objects of their senses such as those of hearing etc as oblations in the fire of their self-control. *Yogis* put all their activities of senses and activities of expansion and contraction of *prāṇa-tattva* (life essence) as oblations into knowledge -illuminated and self-controlled fire of *yoga*, which has the purity, and brightness of *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna* and *samādhi*. In this fire of *yoga* the activities of *prāṇa* (life-essence) and senses disappear. It resembles the fire that spreads by adding oil or *ghee*. Thus, this spiritual interpretation of *yajña* propounded by Jaina dharma is appreciated in Buddhist and Vedic traditions. This is the main contribution of Śramaṇa to Hindu tradition.

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The spiritual interpretation of rituals like bathing etc.

Jaina thinkers have given a new vision to thoughts related to external rituals. Outer cleanliness and bathing etc. which were considered the main form of *dharma* and prayer or worship, was also given a new spiritual outlook. *Uttarādhyayana* says: *Dharma* is river, *Brahmacarya* is the bank of the river or a *tīrtha* and bathing in it purifies the *Ātman* and makes it serene and tranquil. Similarly, in Buddhist philosophy true bath means attainment of true virtues of mind, body and speech. Not only in the Jaina and Buddhist traditions but also in the Vedic tradition this outlook became prominent that real purity lies in the development of spiritual values. These concepts of *Śramaṇas* influenced Vedic or Hindu tradition also.

Similarly, donations (*dakṣiṇā*) given to Brahmins were given a new meaning and it was said that self-control (*saṁyama*) is better than *dāna* or donation. It is said in *Uttarādhyayana* that a person who observes self-control and does not give donations is better than the one who donates thousands of cows every month but does not practice self-control. *Dhammapada* also says that a

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man who serves a good human being even for a short while is anytime better than the one who gives thousands in donations and performs *yajña*s every month and even for years. Thus, Jaina dharma gave a new vision to prevalent beliefs on performance of rituals and gave them a spiritual interpretation. Along with it, the outward approach to religious endeavour was made inward-looking by giving it a spiritual touch. And this led to a revolutionary change in the Vedic thought of that period. Thus the credit of changing Vedic culture goes to Śramanic tradition in general and to Jaina tradition in particular.

Respect for other faiths in Ārhat tradition

Ṛṣibhāṣita in Prakrit literature and *Theragāthā* in Pāli literature are those important texts that substantiate the fact that even in very ancient times in spite of the existence of differences in code of conduct and thought there was a rich tradition of *Arhat ṛṣis* who had mutual respect and friendliness towards each other.

Ṛṣibhāṣita which is comparatively older among the Jaina *Āgamas* and the Buddhist Pāli *Piṭakas* and which was once accepted as a very significant scripture of Jaina tradition indicates the mutual friendliness and pleasant relationship of

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oneness of the spiritually dominated Śramaṇa stream. This text was written around 4th century BC and is earlier than all Prakrit and Pāli literature but later than the first *śrutaskandha* of *Ācārāṅga*. This text contains the teachings of forty-five *Arhat* sages such as *Nirgranthas*, Buddhist, Upaniṣadic seers, *Ājīvakas* etc. of different Śramaṇa traditions; Similarly, *Theragāthā* of the Buddhists is a collection of the teachings and spiritual experiences of different sages of Śramanic stream. By studying it from a historical angle with unprejudiced approach it becomes clear that *Ṛṣibhāṣita* does not have the sages only of the Jaina tradition, nor does *Theragāthā* mentions the sages only of Buddhist tradition. In *Ṛṣibhāṣita*, the names of Sāriputra, Vātsīputra and Mahākaśyapa are from Buddhist tradition, while Uddālaka, Yājñavalkya, Aruṇa, Asitadevala, Nārada, Dvaipāyana, Aṅgirasa, Bhāradvāja etc. are from Upaniṣadic tradition, while still others such as Sañjaya Vellaṭṭhiputta, Makkhali Gośāla, Rāmaputta etc. belong to other independent Śramanic traditions. Like-wise in *Theragāthā* the personal experiences of Vardhamāna etc. from Jaina stream and Nārada etc. from Upaniṣadic stream are contained. It is generally believed that the Śramanic stream is born as a reaction to the Vedic stream, but this is only

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partly true. It is true that the Vedic stream was action (*pravṛtti*) dominated and the Śramanic stream was renunciation (*nivṛtti*) oriented. They had a conflict between the values of desire and conscience or between enjoyment and renunciation. But from a historical perspective the origin of Śramanic stream is from an attempt to re-establish the moral and spiritual values and the purification of human personality, in which all Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas were partners. The epithet of *Arhat* for these sages and regarding them in tune with its own tradition in *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* is a clear indication of the mutual friendliness of these sages in ancient times.

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Chapter-2

History of Nirgrantha tradition

The 7^{th} - 8^{th} century BC was a period when the masses used to listen to the teachings of *Śramaṇas*, *yogis*, mendicants and thinkers with great respect and used to connect life with spiritual and moral endeavour. But still they were not attached to any particular group or class or the followers of any particular individual. In other words no religious tradition or sect was born in that period. Gradually a circle of like-minded disciples of these *Śramaṇas* came into being that continued into the following generations and started establishing their own identities. And in this process the Nirgrantha tradition originated. Those who followed the tradition of Pārśvanātha called themselves Pārśva-nirgranthas and the followers of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra's tradition called themselves Jñātaputrīya-nirgranthas. The *Bhikkhu Saṁgha* of Gautama Buddha came to be known as *Śākya saṁgha.*

The combined tradition of Pārśva and Mahāvīra came to be known as *Nirgrantha*. The ancient name of Jaina religion is Nirgrantha religion. The term 'Jaina' came into existence about one thousand years after Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*. The edicts of Aśoka (3^{rd} century BC) and of Khārvela (2^{nd} century BC) mention Jaina dharma as *Nirgrantha Saṁgha.*

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The Tradition of Pārśva and Mahāvīra

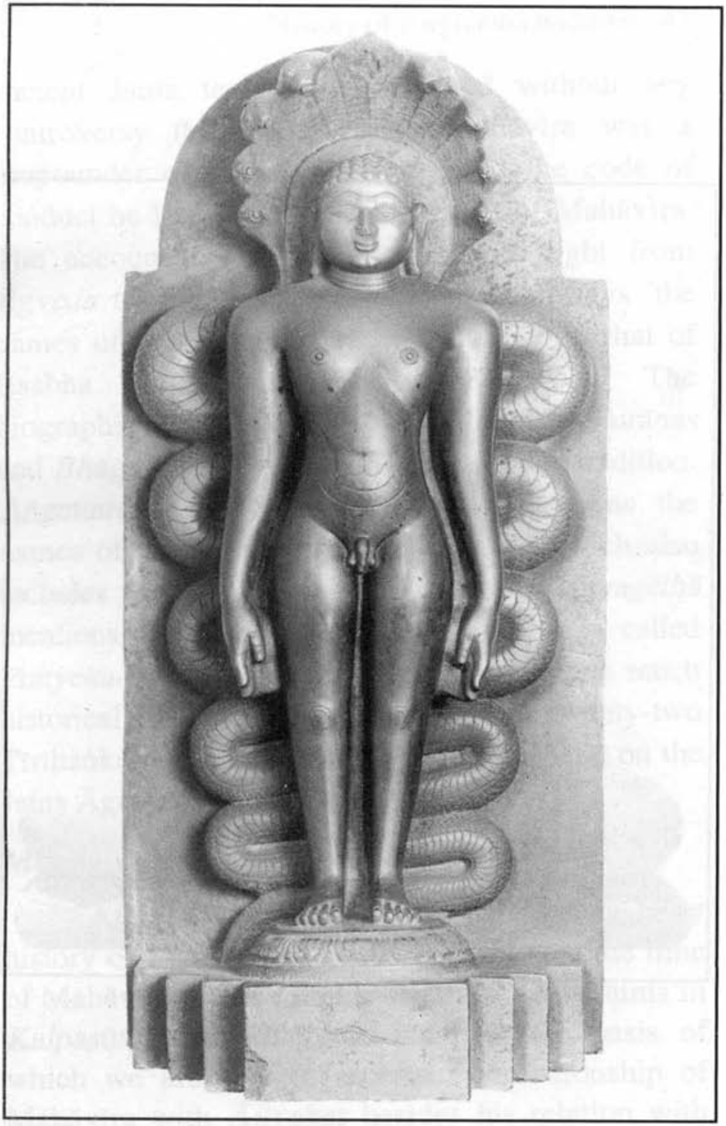
From the texts of *Ṛṣibhāṣita, Uttarādhyayana* and *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* etc. it is known that sages like Nami, Bāhuka, Kapila, Nārāyaṇa (Tārāyaṇa), Aṅgirasa, Bhāradvāja, Nārada etc. who were actually not sages of this tradition, have occupied a highly respectable place in Nirgrantha Dharma. They were also called *Arhats* like Pārśva and Mahāvīra, but when *Nirgrantha* sect got centered on Pārśva and Mahāvīra these sages were given a respectable place with the epithet of '*Pratyeka-buddha*'. But were considered different from their own tradition in a manifest form. Thus, we see that by 5th century BC *Nirgrantha-saṁgha* got limited to the tradition of Pārśva and Mahāvīra only. Further, it has to be kept in mind that the traditions of Pārśva and Mahāvīra were also separate in the beginning. Though from the informations available from the texts of *Uttarādhyayana* and *Bhagavatī* we come to know that some of the *Śramaṇas* of the Pārśva-tradition joined Mahāvīra's *Saṁgha*, having been impressed by Mahāvīra's personality in his lifetime. But in Mahāvīra's lifetime the two traditions did not fully merge with each other. From the description in *Uttarādhyayana* it seems that soon after Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*, his chief disciple Gautama and his contemporary Ācārya

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Keśī of Pārśva's tradition met in Śrāvastī and prepared the groundwork for the merger of the two *Saṁghas*. Though, today we do not have single evidence available on the basis of which it could be said that the Pārśva tradition fully merged into Mahāvīra's tradition, however, this much is certain that a major portion of monks of the Pārśva tradition joined Mahāvīra's tradition and Mahāvīra's followers also recognized Pārśva as the initiator of their own tradition. The term "*Puruṣādanīya*" used for Pārśva proves this point. In the process of time by recognizing great Tīrthaṅkaras such as Ṛṣabha, Nemi and Ariṣṭanemi of pre-historic times, Nirgrantha tradition proved its identity as of great antiquity.

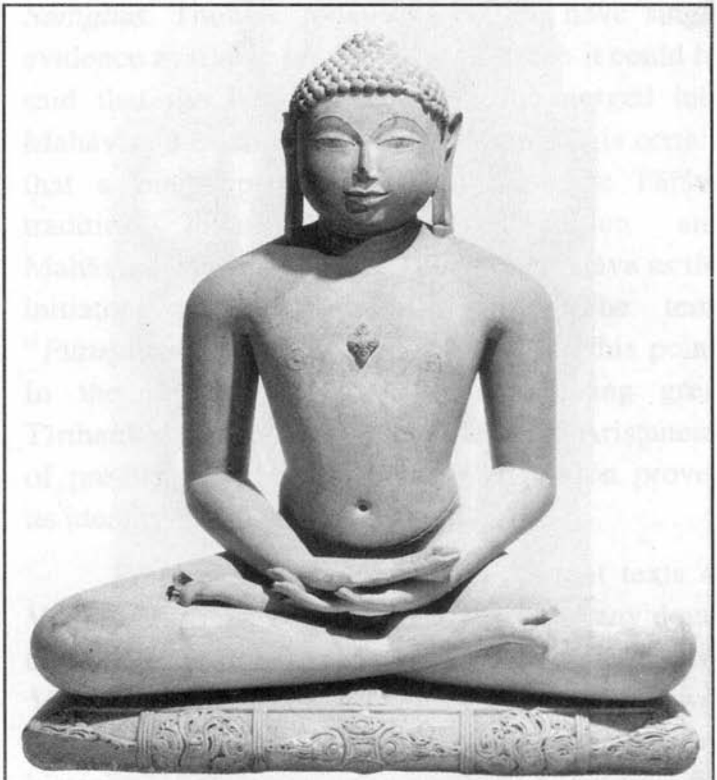
From the *Vedas* and other ancient texts of Vedic tradition it is at least clear without any doubt that Śramaṇa stream was in existence in the form of *Vātarasanā* monks and ascetics, whose pioneer was Ṛṣabha. But still, it is difficult to say on the basis of historical evidence as to what were the philosophical and conduct-related ideologies of Ṛṣabha and how close they were to Jaina tradition of the present day; however it is certain that Ṛṣabha was the founder of the path of renunciation and laid emphasis on meditation and *tapas*. However, the

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Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha
Deccan, 12th Century A.D.

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Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra

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ancient Jaina texts have accepted without any controversy that Ṛṣabha like Mahāvīra was a propounder of five *Mahāvratas*, and the code of conduct he laid down resembled that of Mahāvīra. The account of Ṛṣabha is available right from *Ṛgveda* to *Purāṇas*. Dr. Radhakrishnan says 'the names of Ajita and Ariṣṭanemi along with that of Ṛṣabha are also found in *Yajurveda*.' The biographical data of Ṛṣabha available in *Purāṇas* and *Bhāgavat* is very close to that of Jaina tradition. *Aṅguttara-nikāya* of the Buddhists mentions the names of the early seven Tīrthaṅkaras, which also includes Araka (Ara). Similarly, *Theragāthā* mentions the name of Ajita Thera who is called *Pratyeka-buddha*. However, we do not have much historical evidence regarding the middle twenty-two Tīrthaṅkaras. Our faith in them is only based on the Jaina Āgamas and the narrative.

Mahāvīra and Ājivaka Tradition

After having given a brief sketch of the early history of Jaina dharma, we come back to the time of Mahāvīra and we find some informative hints in *Kalpasūtra* and *Bhagavatī-sūtra* on the basis of which we are able to ascertain a relationship of Mahāvīra with *Ājīvakas* besides his relation with post Pārśva monks.

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It is accepted in Jaina Āgamas and their commentaries that only in the second year of Mahāvīra's renunciation Makkhali Gośāla came in close contact with him, and stayed together for a few years. But on the issues of fatalism and the concept of *Puruṣārtha* they had differences and thus they drifted apart from each other. Hermann Jacobi has even surmised that nakedness etc. and the stringency in the code of conduct in the Nirgrantha tradition of Mahāvīra is due to the influence of Ājīvaka tradition. This is true that there was a tradition of *Ājīvakas*, which had *Ācāryas* such as Arjuna etc. However, due to lack of historical evidences it is difficult to say that the rigour of conduct in Mahāvīra's tradition came from Ājīvaka tradition or it was the other way round i.e. it went from Mahāvīra's tradition to the Ājīvaka tradition. Because there is no factual evidence as to whether Gośāla got attached to Ājīvaka tradition after separating from Mahāvīra or he had already joined Ājīvaka tradition before, and came to Mahāvīra later. Still, it is certain that the Ājīvaka tradition retained its identify till the 1st and 2nd century AD. This was a rival Śramaṇa tradition against the *Nirgranthas* and the Buddhists, whose monks used to live naked like those of the Digambara sect of Jainas. Jainas and Ājīvakas despite being rivals used to be more respectful towards each other than with other sects of Śramaṇa tradition. This is

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substantiated by the account of the six-fold classification of heretics in the Buddhist *Piṭaka* literature where *Nirgranthas* are placed above other kinds of *Śramaṇas* but below the *Ājīvakas*. Thus, *Ājīvakas* joining the *Nirgranthas* and then separating from them is an important event in Nirgrantha tradition; and also, a comparatively respectful and liberal attitude for the *Nirganthas* is a sign of partial proximity of the two *saṁghas*.

The division in the Nirgrantha tradition during the Lifetime of Mahāvira

Another important event during Mahāvīra's lifetime is the differences of views with Jamāli, considered to be his son-in-law, who then left the *saṁgha* along with his five hundred disciples. In *Bhagavatī*, *Āvaśyaka-niryukti* and later literature a detailed description is available of this event. Besides, the occurrence of the division in the *Nirgrantha-saṁgha* another event is mentioned in the Buddhist *Piṭaka* literature according to which, soon after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* a strong controversy emerged among the monks of his Order and his white-robed disciples. This controversy in the *Nirgrantha-saṁgha* also reached Buddha. But there is no discussion in the *Piṭaka* literature of the reasons of this controversy. One possibility is that this controversy could be on the issue of

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succession. Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras have difference of opinion about the first successor of Mahāvīra. Digambara sect considers Gautama as the successor of Mahāvīra, while Śvetāmbaras regard Sudharmā as Mahāvīra's successor. The event of Gautama having been sent to the nearby village on a mission to give a spiritual awakening to one Devaśarmā Brahmin is also worth considering in this context. But the other possibility is that by the time of writing of *Piṭaka* literature, the later controversy of Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras was linked to the event of Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*. According to me, if there was any controversy at that time it could be among the *Śramaṇas* of two kinds: those with clothes and those without clothes i.e. *Acela* and *Sacela* sects of Mahāvīra, because at the time of merger of disciples of Pārśva and Mahāvīra's *Nirgrantha-saṁgha*, the *saṁgha* must have got divided into two classes, (i) those without clothes and (2) those with clothes. These two groups of *Śramaṇas* might have been formed by Mahāvīra in accordance to the levels of conduct called *Sāmāyika-cāritra* and *Chedopasthāpanā-cāritra*. The cause of the conflict must have been only these two groups themselves. In my opinion, in the Buddhist tradition those who were referred to as white-robed *śrāvakas* were in fact *Śramaṇas;* because in Buddhist tradition even

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Śramaṇas (*bhikkhu*) are called *śrāvakas.* In this context, however, more serious thought and deliberation is required.

The journey by Nirgrantha-saṁgha for spreading its Religion

Bihar, eastern U.P. and nearby areas around this region were the areas of influence of *Nirgrantha-saṁgha* during Mahāvīra's time. But after his *nirvāṇa* these boundaries extended further. However, till the time of writing of the *Āgamas* and *Niryuktis* and the early period of evolution of Jaina religion, *Nirgranthas* were permitted to travel only in Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab and eastern Rajasthan (of the present day India). And the sacred places of importance associated with Tīrthaṅkaras were also limited to these areas only. Ariṣṭanemi is the only Tīrthaṅkara who is also shown as connected to Saurashtra besides Sūrasena (the region close to Mathura) and it is believed that he attained *nirvāṇa* at Mount Girnar (in Gujarat). But the description given in *Āgamas* about the proximity of Girnar and Dwarika is different from reality. Perhaps, the fact that Ariṣṭanemi and Kṛṣṇa were close relations is the reason for Ariṣṭanemi's association with Dwarika. Historical evidence in this context, however, is lacking.

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Scholars are expected to engage themselves in research in this direction.

From the historical evidence available it looks that *Nirgrantha saṁgha* went in two directions from its place of birth i.e. Bihar, in its mission to spread Jainism. One group went to south Bihar and Bengal then to Tamil Nadu via Orissa and from there it travelled to Srilanka and Java, Sumatra etc. Around 2nd century BC with increasing influence of the Buddhists Nirgranthas were ousted from Srilanka and consequently they came back to Tamil Nadu. Many Jaina records of around 1st century BC in *Brāhmī* script are available in Tamil Nadu, which prove the fact that *Nirgrantha-saṁgha* reached Tamil Nadu as early as two or three hundred years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*. It is also believed that Ācārya Bhadrabāhu after having ordained Candragupta Maurya went to the south, though its historical authenticity cannot be proved without some controversy because the documents or records that mention this belong to 6th or 7th century AD. Today also there is a vast number of Tamil Jainas who represent the oldest followers of Jaina tradition. They are known as Nayanars and Panchamvarnis. Though with the passage of time the ancient Jaina tradition has disappeared from Bihar, Bengal and Orissa there are remnants of this tradition in the form of a caste

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or class called 'Sarāka'. The term 'Sarāka' is a distorted form of *Śrāvaka*, and this caste customarily avoids meals after sun set, and the prohibition of words such as cut, kill etc., which indicate violence. These are some remnants of the *saṁskāras* that are prevalent even today. Because of the efforts of Upadhyaya Jnanasagarji and some other Śvetāmbara monks these Sarākas have returned to the Jaina fold.

The difference in code of conduct of Nirgranthas of the North and South

The Nirgrantha-saṁgha that had gone to the south could not take much of Jaina texts or literature along with it since enough Jaina literature was not written till that time. It only carried with it the philosophical thoughts and its strict path of conduct from its oral tradition, which the *saṁgha* preserved for a very long time. The predecessor of today's Digambara tradition is the southern *Acela Nirgrantha-saṁgha*. In this context some other issues need more deliberation and research from historical perspective. During Mahāvīra's own time the region of his influence was only southern Bihar, which had its centre at Rajgir. While the area of influence of the Buddhists and that of Pārśva's descendants was North Bihar and north-eastern U.P. whose centre was Śrāvastī. The groundwork

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of the meeting of the *Acela Nirgrantha-saṁgha* of Mahāvīra and the *Sacela-saṁgha* of Pārśva's descendants was prepared under the leadership of Gautama and Keśī in Śrāvastī. The fact that the greatest number of 'rainy season retreats' (*cāturmāsas*) of Mahāvīra were held at Rajgir while those of Buddha were held in Śrāvastī, is proof of this. South India being climatically warmer in comparison to the north, it was not difficult for the monks of *Nirgrantha-saṁgha* to observe the practice of not wearing clothes (i.e.*acelakatva*). The *Nirgrantha-saṁgha* of the north could not retain its original practice of *acelakatva* and started to cover their body with one piece of cloth, partly because of the climatic conditions of the north and partly because of the influence of the descendents of Pārśva. Besides, North-Indians are more comfort-loving by nature than the Southerners. In the Buddhist tradition also the request for conveniences was made by the Vātsīputra Bhikṣus who belonged to Terai region of the north. The *Piṭaka* literature of the Buddhists talks of *Nirgranthas* as *Śāṭaka* i.e one who has clothing and *Ājīvakas* as naked. This also indicates the fact that the north-Indian *Nirgrantha-saṁgha* had started keeping at least one piece of cloth serving a two fold purpose (i) protection from cold and (ii) to avoid the stigma of nakedness.

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A Digambara Nun (Āryikā)

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A sculpture form Mathura depicting Jaina monks with a piece of cloth in their hands

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The 1st century AD idols of Jaina *Śramaṇas* available in Mathura are shown with one blanket-like cloth. They generally used to live naked, but while going out on begging rounds or on meeting people they would carry that piece of cloth or blanket in hand in order to hide their nakedness, and also to cover themselves in excessive cold conditions. In the first part of *Ācārāṅga* and its eighth chapter there is a reference to *Acelaka-śramaṇas* along with *Śramaṇas* who kept one, two and three pieces of cloth.

It is absolutely certain that Mahāvīra ordained himself without a begging bowl. According to information available from *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, he first used householders' bowls but he gave this up and soon started taking alms in his own hands. Later because of the ban on the use of fresh (*sacitta*) water, *Nirgrantha-saṁgha* probably allowed the use of a bowl for water for cleansing purpose (*śauca*). When the number of monks increased and when they were unable to get sufficient food from one household, the practice of using and keeping these begging bowls for food may have started. Besides this, the practice of taking and bringing alms for the sick and aged *bhikkhus* while tending or serving them might have started. In one of the findings of Mathura an idol

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of a Jaina *Śramaṇa* of about I[st] or 2[nd] century AD is found who is carrying a bag (*jholī*) with a bowl in one hand and a broom (*rajoharaṇa*) in another. The bag looks very similar to the one prevalent in Śvetāmbara tradition specially that of the Sthānakavāsī or Terāpantha tradition. Though, in the engravings of Mathura an open bowl (i.e. without the bag) in the hand of the *bhikṣu* is also exhibited. Further, in these engravings the monks and nuns carrying the mouth cloth piece and broom (*rajoharaṇa*) in their hands are also seen. The engravings of broom are of both the kinds prevalent in Śvetāmbara tradition (i.e. *rajoharaṇa*) and Digambara's tradition (i.e. *mayūrapicchī*). Though, it is difficult to say without clear literary and archeological evidence that these brooms were made of *mayūrapicchī* or of some other material. The recognized Digambara texts *Mūlācāra* and *Bhagavatī-ārādhanā* describe the quality and importance of the broom but do not make it clear as to what material it is made of. Thus, before I[st] century AD, clothes, bowls, bags, mouth-cloth piece and broom were prevalent amongst the *Nirgranthas* of North India. Monks generally used to live naked while nuns used to wear *sārīs*. Monks used to use cloth in special circumstances such as cold weather conditions or to avoid stigma. It was

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not customary for monks to cover themselves always. Similarly in the engravings the mouth-cloth piece is shown in the hand only, unlike present day Sthānakavāsī or Terāpanthī tradition of tying it on the mouth. The ancient Śvetāmbara *Āgamas* also substantiate this fact. The fourteen articles of use mentioned in Śvetāmbara tradition were probably decided by the 2nd or 3rd century AD.

The division in Post-Mahāvīra Nirgrantha-Saṁgha

In the history of 500 years between Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* and Mathurā's records we get some very important information about *Nihnvas* which are related to their philosophical and conceptual differences, their different characteristics, branches, classes and their divisions based on mutual relationship. *Āvaśyaka-niryukti* talks about seven *nihnvas*, among them Jamāli and Tiṣyagupta were of Mahāvīra's time, and the remaining five, viz. Āṣāḍhabhūti, Aśvamitra, Gaṅga, Rohagupta and Goṣṭhāmāhila existed between 214 years and 584 years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*. These *Nihnvas* had differences on some philosophical issues with the conventional beliefs of *Nirgrantha-saṁgha*. But we do not have any information available to us about their forming or starting any new sect as such. In this period

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different *gaṇas* and branches emerged in the *Nirgrantha-saṁgha*, but what were the philosophical or conduct-related reasons for their differences is not known. In my opinion they may have split up for administrative convenience and due to the formation of groups and sub-groups by different disciples. Though, in *Kalpasūtra* the list of patriarchs (*sthavirāvalī*) mentions that Ṣaḍulaka Rohagupta had led the Trairāśika branch. Rohagupta is considered to be a *Nihnva* who is the representative of the Trairāśika sect. Thus, it is clear that these *gaṇas* and branches must have had differences in their beliefs, but we have no means of knowing this today.

The *Sthavirāvalī* of *Kalpasūtra* talks of two disciples of Ārya Yaśobhadra: (i) Sambhūtivijaya and (ii) Bhadrabāhu. *Kalpasūtra* also talks of origin of *gaṇas* and branches, which at the one end begins with the disciple of Bhadrabāhu named as Godāsa of Kāśyapa-gotra and at the other end with the disciples of Sthūlibhadra. From Godāsa originated Godāsagaṇa having further branches called tāmraliptikā, koṭivarsīyā, pounḍravardhanikā, and dāsīkarkpaṭikā. How did Bhadrabāhu's tradition grow later? This is not indicated in the *Sthavirāvalī* of *Kalpasūtra*. The names of these branches suggest that Bhadrabāhu's tradition of his disciples went

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towards south India via Bengal and Orissa. A document of Godāsagaṇa is also found in the South. Thus, it seems proper to believe that the *Acelaka Nirgrantha* tradition of south developed from Bhadrabāhu's tradition.

According to Śvetāmbaras at the time of Pāṭalīputra *vācanā* Bhadrabāhu was in Nepal, whereas according to Digambaras Bhadrabāhu proceeded southwards after having ordained Candragupta Maurya into the Order. It is possible that he went to the South in the last stage of his life. The Nirgrantha tradition of North India went ahead with the disciples of Sthūlibhadra. Except Godāsagaṇa and its four branches described in the *Kalpasūtra* all other *gaṇas*, families and branches are related to the tradition of Sthūlibhadra's disciples and then their disciples and so on. Thus, the *Acelaka Nirgrantha-saṁgha* of south followed from Bhadrabāhu and the *Sacela Nirgrantha* tradition of the North developed and continued from Sthūlibhadra. In this *saṁgha* Uttara Balissahagaṇa, Uddhehgaṇa, Koṭikagaṇa, Cāraṇa-gaṇa, Mānavagaṇa, Vesavāḍiyagaṇa, Uḍḍavāḍiya-gaṇa etc. are the main *gaṇas*. These *gaṇas* had many branches and sub-branches. The *sthavirāvalī* of *Kalpasūtra* mentions all of them but in its last part it mentions only one tradition of *ācāryas* of Vajrī branch belonging to Koṭika-gaṇa These

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branches continued till the time of Devardhi Gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa (*Vīra Nirvāṇa Saṁvat* 980). We come to know about the tradition of Ācārya Sthūlibhadra from *Sthavirāvalī* of *Kalpasūtra*, its numerous *gaṇas*, branches, subs-branches etc. that is further substantiated from the records of Mathura, which authenticates the *Sthavirāvalī* of *Kalpasūtra*. The *Paṭṭāvalī* (genealogical list) of Digambara tradition up to 1000 years of Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* is certainly later and secondly it dose not have any ancient literary or documentary evidence to substantiate it except mentioning Bhadrabāhu's name. And the evidence related to Bhadrabāhu is also new. Thus, from a historical perspective their authenticity can be questioned. The significant changes that have taken place in the *Nirgrantha-saṁgha* of north India after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* up to 1st and 2nd century AD can be understood with the help of *Āgamas* in *Ardhamāgadhī* and with the art and documents of Mathura. The special feature of Mathura art is that the Tīrthaṅkara's idols are naked, but they hide their nudity with a cloth or a blanket. Besides cloth and blanket all such objects such as bowl, bag, mouth-cloth piece and broom (*pratilekhana*), are included in the requisites of the monks. The names of monks their *gaṇa*, branch, family name etc. can be found in *Sthavirāvalī* of *Kalpasūtra* of

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Śvetāmbaras. Thus, they are indicators of the prior conditions of Śvetāmbaras. Mathura art reveals that in Jaina religion there was also a tradition of building *stūpas* besides idols of Tīrthaṅkaras.

The origin of Yāpanīya or Boṭika Saṁgha

In the second century AD i.e. six hundred and nine years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* there was another event of a division in *Nirgrantha-saṁgha,* with the result the north Indian branch of *Nirgrantha-saṁgha* got further sub-divided into two groups of *Acelaka* and *Sacelaka.* With the influence of Pārśva's descendents, the cloth meant for protection from the cold and the begging bowls meant to be used in exceptional circumstances became objects of regular use and started becoming indispensable for the monks. On the subject of stopping this increasing tendency for possessions Ārya Kṛṣṇa and Ārya Śivabhūti had disagreement with each other. Ārya Kṛṣṇna discarded the *jinakalpa* code and emphasized that the cloth and bowl are indispensable objects of a monk's life, while Ārya Śivabhūti emphasized the observance of the *jinakalpa* code and the renunciation of these objects. According to him *jinakalpa* code should not be discarded for the competent ones and the cloth and bowl should be meant only for

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exceptional circumstances. Infact, the normal path is only *acelakatā*.

The *Acela* tradition of Ārya Śivabhūti in North India was described by Śvetāmbaras as Boṭika (distorted). But later on this tradition came to be popularly known as the 'Yāpanīya'. Because of its growth and spread in the region of cows it became known as *Gopya-saṁgha*. In the commentary (*ṭīkā*) of *Saḍdarśana-samuccaya* Ācārya Guṇaratna says that the terms *Yāpya-saṁgha* and *Yāpanīya-saṁgha* are synonyms. The special features of Yāpanīya-saṁgha were (1) like the Śvetāmbara tradition it recognized the *Ardhamāgadhī* Āgamic literature like *Sūtrakṛtāṅga, Ācārāṅga, Uttarādhyayana, Daśavaikālika* etc., which they got as inheritance (2) it accepted the liberation of *sacelas* (those with clothes), liberation of women, and even those who belonged to other faiths. It believed that the mention of clothes, bowls in the *Āgama* literature was only in the context of *sādhvīs* (nuns), and monks only in exceptional circumstances. On other hand, however, it laid emphasis on nakedness and disallowed clothes and bowls. Yāpanīya monks used to live naked and used to take meals only with hands (i.e. did not use begging bowls). Their *ācāryas* wrote many texts in Śaurasenī Prakrit by taking stanzas from *Āgamas*, which they got in

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inheritance of which the famous ones are *Kaṣāyaprābhṛta*, *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, *Bhagavatī-ārādhanā* and *Mūlācāra*.

The history of *Acela Nirgrantha* tradition in South India till 3rd - 4th century AD is shrouded in obscurity. In this context, we have neither literary nor epigraphical evidence. Though, we do get some written documents in *Brāhmī* script of a slightly earlier period in Tamil Nadu, they do not give us any information except about the names of monks or of the makers of the caves. The caves with their records in Tamil Nadu probably were the places where *Nirgranthas* attained *samādhi*. The Tamil literature of *Saṅgama* period, however, reveals that Jaina Śramaṇas have contributed a lot to the growth and enrichment of Tamil literature. According to a view '*Tirukurala*', the famous Jaina literature in Tamil, is written by a Jaina *Ācārya*. In the 4th century AD this *Nirgrantha-saṁgha* of Tamil region proceeded North wards via Karnataka. While the *Nirgrantha-saṁgha* of north branch into *Sacela* (Śvetāmbara) and *Acela* (Yāpanīya) and proceeded south wards. Sacela Śvetāmbara tradition travelled to north Karnataka via Rajasthan, Gujarat, and Western Maharashtra, while Acela-yāpanīya tradition travelled to North Karnataka via Bundelakhand, Vidisha, Vindhya, Satpuda and East

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Maharashtra. The inscriptions of Mṛgeśa Vermā of 5th century AD in north Karnataka inform us of the existence of five *saṁghas* of Jainas- (1) *Nirgrantha-saṁgha* (2) *Mūla-saṁgha* (3) *Yāpanīya saṁgha* (4) *Kūcarka-saṁgha* and white clothed *Mahāśramaṇa-saṁgha.* In the same period a copper plate discovered in northeast India reveal the existence of Pañca-stūpānavaya. The white clothed *Mahāśramaṇa-saṁgha* of this period was divided in many families and branches, whose complete description is available in *Kalpasūtra* and the documents of Mathura.

In the long time span of about 1000 years i.e between the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra and 5th century AD, *Ardhamāgadhī Āgama* texts were continuously written and compiled. Today, the *Āgamas,* which are available to us, are neither written by one single person nor at a particular time. Not only this, infact, one single scripture contains a collection of the material from different periods. The first and the foremost in this period was the assembly (*vācanā*) of Pāṭalīputra in 3rd century BC.

The *Āgamas* called *Aṅgas* and the *Pūrva* literature of *Pārśva's* descendents were probably compiled in this assembly. The issue of compilation of Pūrva literature became significant as the tradition of Pārśva's descendents was

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disappearing. After that, under the leadership of Ārya Skandila in Mathurā and under Ārya Nāgārjuna in Ballabhī, parallel assemblies were held in which *Aṅgas* and *Upāṅgas* were compiled. Then, 980 years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* i.e. in 5th century AD, the last *vācanā* took place in Ballabhī under the leadership of Devardhi Gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa. Modern *Āgamas* are the products of this *vācanā*. However, Devardhi is only a compiler of these *Āgamas* not the original writer. He only systematically organized these scriptures; the material was already there before. In the *Ardhamāgadhī Āgamas Ācārāṅga*, the first chapter of *Sūtrakṛtāṅga, Ṛṣibhāṣita, Uttarādhyayana* and *Daśavaikālika* etc. are ancient and are of pre-Christian era. There are others such as *Samavāyāṅga, Praśnavyākaraṇa* etc, which are of much later period, i.e. around 5th century AD. *Sthānāṅga, Antakṛtadasā, Jñātādharmakathā* and some parts of *Bhagavatī* are of much earlier period i.e. of pre-Christian era and some others of much later date. In the *Upāṅgas* scriptures such as *Sūryaprajñapti, Rājapraśnīya, Prajñāpanā*, are of earlier period. *Chedasūtras* are undoubtedly older in comparison to *Upāṅgas*. Similarly, in the *Prakīrṇaka* literature there are many texts, which are even older than some *Aṅgas* and *Upāṅgas*. But still, the entire *Ardhamāgadhī* Agamic literature got its final shape around the first half of 6th century

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AD although, even after this, there have been many interpolations. After the 6th century AD up to the middle of 10th and 11th century AD, was the period when interpretations and commentaries of Āgamas in the form of *Niryuktis, Bhāṣyas, Cūrṇis* and *Ṭīkās* were written though some of the *Niryuktis* are rather ancient. In this period, some independent texts were also written, besides the Āgamic commentary literature. Among the famous *ācāryas* of this period, some *ācāryas* such as Siddhasena, Jinabhadra Gaṇi, Śivārya, Vaṭṭakera, Kundakunda, Akalaṅka, Samantabhadra, Vidyānandi, Jinasena, Svayambhū, Haribhadra, Siddharṣi, Śīlāṅka and Abhayadeva are the prominent ones. In the Digambara tradition various commentaries on *Tattvārtha* and the *Purāṇas* were written in this period.

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Chapter-3

Impact of Vedic Tradition on Jainism

(A) The influence of Hindu Caste and Varṇa system on Jainism

Basically, Śramaṇa tradition and Jaina tradition were opposed to the Hindu Varṇa system but with the passage of time and with the influence of larger Hindu society the concepts of *varṇa* and caste entered into this tradition. The origin of *jāti* and *varṇa* systems and the description of their historical evolution are found for the first time in *Ācārāṅga-niryukti* (around 3rd century AD). According to it, in the beginning, there was only one human society. Administrative systematization started by Ṛṣabha led to its compartmentalization into two (i) the ruler (ii) the subjects; later with the development of art and commerce, these evolved into three: (i) Kṣatriya (ruling class), (ii) Vaiśya (the farmer and the business class), (iii) Śūdra (the menial class). Later, with the establishment of *śrāvaka-dharma* (the code of conduct for the householders), the people who were non-violent, virtuous and of good character were being called Brahmins. Thus the four *varṇas* came into being one after the other; then, from these four *varṇas* and the mixed marriages amongst them there emerged sixteen

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varṇas. Seven of them were called *varṇas* and the remaining nine were called *antarvarṇas.* Out of the seven *varṇas* the union of man with a woman of the same *varṇa* led to four basic *varṇas*; the union of Brahmin man and Kṣatriya woman, Kṣatriya man and Vaiśya woman and Vaiśya man and Śūdra woman led to the creation of other three *varṇas. Ācārāṅga-cūrṇi*, while classifying this, says that the child born out of the union of a Brahmin man and Kṣatriya woman is called the best Kṣatriya, pure Kṣatriya or saṅkara Kṣatriya; this is the fifth *varṇa.* Similarly, the child born from Kṣatriya man and Vaiśya woman is called best Vaiśya, pure Vaiśya or saṅkara-Vaiśya. This is the sixth *varṇa.* And the child born from the union of Vaiśya man and Śūdra women is pure Śūdra or saṅkara-śūdra. This is the seventh *varṇa.* Further, on the basis of relationships between similar and dissimilar *varṇas* nine *antarvarṇas* evolved. From the relationship of Brahmin man and Vaiśya woman Ambaṣṭa-varṇa originated which is the eighth *varṇa.* The union of Kṣatriya man and Śūdra woman led to the creation of *Ugra-varṇa*, which is the ninth *varṇa.* From the relationship of Brahmin man and Śūdra woman evolved the tenth *varṇa* called Niṣāda. Eleventh *varṇa* evolved out of the union of Śūdra man and Vaiśya woman. This is called *Ayoga-varṇa.* Then *Sūta-varṇa* evolved from Kṣatriya man and

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Brahmin woman; this is the thirteenth *varṇa*. The union between Śūdra man and Kṣatriya woman led to the origin of Kṣatrā (khannā) *varṇa*- the fourteenth *varṇa*. The union of Vaiśya man and Brahmin woman led to the origin of fifteenth *varṇa* called Vedeha. And finally from Śūdra man and Brahmin woman was born the sixteenth *varṇa* called Cāṇḍāla. In the process of time such unions between these sixteen *varṇas* (*anuloma* and *pratiloma*) led to the emergence of several different castes.

The above description reveals that with the passage of time, Jaina *Ācāryas* accepted the institutions of *jāti* and *varṇa* of Hindu tradition in its own amended form. Around 7th century AD, Ācārya Jinasena of the south, out of fear of social controversy and also for maintaining the identity and social respect of Jaina dharma, absorbed the caste and *varṇa* system of Hindu tradition in such a manner that the distinctiveness of the Jainas almost got lost. Ācārya Jinasena, for the first time, said, that the first creator Ṛṣabhadeva, after having propounded six kinds of *karmas* (actions) created three kinds of *varṇnas* i.e. Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. Later, in the same text it is said those who serve Kṣatriya and Vaiśya are sūdras. Sūdras are of two kinds: (i) kārus (ii) akārus. Kārus are of two kinds: (i) touchable (ii) untouchables; washermen, barbers etc are touchable sūdras and Cāṇḍālas etc.

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who live on the outskirts of the city are untouchables. The distinctions of Kārus and Akārus and touchables and untouchables are made for the first time only in *Purāṇa* period by Jinasena. None of his predecessors Jaina *Ācāryas* accepted such distinctions. But later Jaina *Ācāryas* who were influenced by the Hindu social system had by and large accepted this. The commentator of *Ṣaṭprābhṛta*, Śrutasāgarjī has discussed the 'touchable' and 'untouchable' concepts though the writer of *Purāṇas* recognized the rights of Śūdras to be initiated as Kṣullakas. But later Digambara *ācāryas* have reduced their right so much so that Śūdras were not allowed to be ordained as monks; they were not even allowed entry into a Jaina temple. In the main text of *Sthānāṅga-sūtra* of Śvetāmbaras only the sick, mentally deranged or those obsessed by fear and eunuchs were not allowed to be ordained. But later commentators prohibited both categories of Śūdras such as Cāṇḍālas (birth or *jāti* related) or hunters (profession-related) from being initiated into monkhood. Though all this was against the original Jaina tradition but still this got accepted because of the influence of Hindu tradition. This reached such a state that the followers of the same Jaina tradition started abstaining from taking food touched by another caste, inter-dining, and taking water from a

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person of low caste. Also Śūdras were not allowed entry into a Jain temple. In one of the sects of Śvetāmbara tradition, it became a practice that an Oswal alone should be ordained as a monk; and in another sect of this tradition, the idea of giving the post of *ācārya* only to a monk of the Bīsā Oswal community originated.

Though in olden times people from all four *varṇas* and castes were fully accepted and were entitled to worship in temples, observe the vows of the householder and the vows of the monks and were even considered capable of attaining the highest state of *Nirvāṇa*. In the 7th - 8th century AD, Jinasena for the first time declared Śūdras as unworthy for monkhood and for attainment of liberation. The Śvetāmbara canons however, do not forbid initiation of Śūdras into the Order. The *Sthānāṅga-sūtra* only prohibits the initiation of sick, mentally deranged and eunuchs etc. into the Order. But later on, even low-castes such as cāṇḍālas and professionals such as butchers etc were prohibited from initiation into the Order. But this is only the influence of the powerful Hindu tradition and was clearly against the main principles of Jaina tradition. Jainas gave recognition to this only to maintain their social status and dignity, though the *Āgamas* mention many cases of Cāṇḍālas such as Harikeśabala,

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Metārya, Mātaṅgamuni etc. being ordained as monks and later attaining *mokṣa.*

Idol-worship in Jaina Religion and entry of Ostentatious Ritualism

Though the tradition of temple building and image worship began in Jaina dharma just about 100 years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* during Nanda period, it is difficult to ascertain as to whether an excavated headless figure from Harappa is Jaina or not, but a Jaina-idol of Maurya period found in Lohanipur in Patna is indicative of the fact that the culture of idol-worship was there in Jaina religion and that there had been an influence of the contemporary traditions.

Ritualism and spiritual endeavours are indispensable parts of every religion. Ritualism is its body and spiritualism its life-essence. Both these kinds of tendencies are clearly visible in Indian religions right from ancient times. Whereas the original Vedic tradition was mainly ritualistic, the ancient Śramanic traditions were Meditational. But still, it is difficult to completely separate both these tendencies from one another. The code of spiritual and religious *sādhanā* of Śramanic tradition gradually developed into expressions of different forms of ritualism. It is proved from various internal and external evidences that most of

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the rituals have come from the influences of either Brāhmanic, Vedic or other traditions.

Jaina tradition basically is a part of Śramanic tradition and therefore, in its original form it was against rituals and was mainly spiritualistic. The denunciation of rituals like *yajña*, oblations and bathing etc. in older scriptures like *Uttarādhyayana* proves this point. As we have mentioned earlier, the special feature of *Uttarādhyayana* is that it gave a spiritual form to the rituals or other ceremonies performed in the name of religion. Jaina tradition has openly opposed the acts of social exploitation by the Brahmin class in those days in the name of religious rituals and ceremonies such as *yajñas, śrādhha* and *tarpaṇa*.

As a matter of fact, the followers of *bhakti-mārga* who were opposed to Vedic rituals started the practice of worshipping idols while the Śramanic tradition believed in *tapas* and meditation.

Jaina scriptures also mention the prevalence of *yakṣa*-worship in the society. The devotional practices prevalent among the masses had an influence on the Jaina and Buddhist religions also, and the people developed an urge for worshipping Jina and Buddha along with the practices of penance, self-control and meditation. It first began with symbol-worship of *stūpas* and *caityas* and then

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temples started (*siddhāyatanas*) coming up, where the idols of Buddha and Jina were worshipped. Thus idol-worship, *dāna* (charity) etc began to be considered as the primary duties of the householder. In Digambara tradition the place of the ancient *ṣaḍāvaśyakas* (six-essential duties of the householder) is taken over by six daily duties of Jina-worship, serving the *guru*, study of scriptures, penance, self-control and charity. We do not find a clear account of Jina-worship in earlier scriptures of *Ācārāṅga*, *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, *Uttarādhyayana* and *Bhagavatī* in Śvetāmbara tradition. In comparison, later scriptures like *Sthānāṅga* etc do mention Jina-idol and Jina-temple but there is no discussion of any ceremony or service related to worship. However, in *Rājapraśnīya* Sūryābhadeva and in *Jñātādharma-kathā* Draupadī worshiping Jina- idol is mentioned. All this is the influence of the larger Hindu tradition on Jaina religion.

Ācārya Jinasena, in *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* has talked of water, unhusked rice, sandal, flowers, incense, lamp and *naivedya*. In this description the order of the eight objects is not the same nor is there a separate reference of water in this text. It should be remembered that the ritual of idol bathing (*prakṣālana*) had developed into sprinkling water (*abhiṣeka*) which is comparatively later.

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Through the texts of *Padmapurāṇa, Pañcaviṁśati* (authored by Padmanandi), *Ādipurāṇa, Harivaṁśa-purāṇa* Vasunandi's *Śrāvakācāra* we come to know of the benefits of these eight substances used in worship. It is believed that the use of these eight objects gives the worshipper both mundane and extra mundane happiness and prosperity. *Bhāvasaṁgraha* also tells us that these eight different substances confer their different benefits.

The description by Dr. Nemichandra Shastri clearly attributes the gradual adoption of these articles of worship in Digambara tradition to the influence of Hinduism. In Śvetāmbara tradition the eight-fold worship that later developed into seventeen types of worship is an influence of *Pañcopacārī* worship of the Hindu tradition. This *Sarvopacārī* or seventeen-fold worship is only a form of *Ṣoḍaṣopacārī* worship of Vaiśṇavaits, a detailed account of which is available in *Rājapraśnīya.*

In this entire discussion it seems that in Jaina tradition the first religious ritual or ceremony that evolved is *ṣaḍ-āvaśyakas* and there was a place for 'prayers of adoration' in these six '*āvaśyakas*' and later, from this *bhāvapūjā* came into practice; and then came the concept of *dravya-pūjā* (worship with objects). But the practice of *dravya-pūjā* was

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meant only for the householders. It is only later that the complex rules and regulations related with Jina worship extended further in both Śvetāmbara and Digambara traditions; all this is the influence of Brāhmaṇa tradition. Thereafter, many rules and regulation were framed with regard to construction of temples and the consecration of Jina-symbols by following in the footsteps of the Hindus. The fact that the use of different articles of worship has been a step by step evolution has been clearly admitted by Pt. Phool Chand ji Siddhantshastri in the introduction to his '*Jñānapīṭha Pūjāñjali*' and by Dr. Nemichandra Shastri in the essay, '*Puṣpakarma-devapūjā: vikāsa Evaṁ Vidhi*," in his book titled, "*Bhāratīya Saṅskṛti ke Vikāsa men Jaina Vāṅmaya kā Avadāna*" Part I, page 371.

Though the use of flowers in worship had been customary in ancient times but it does not quite match with the principle of extreme non-violence of Jaina tradition. On the one hand there is a text on worship-rituals in which the worshipper talks of atonement (expiation) for violence committed even to the one-sensed living beings and on the other hand flowers, which are themselves one sensed-living being are being offered before the Jina-idol. How far is this consistent? The following passage is recited for atonement:

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īryāpathe pracalatādya mayā pramādāt /
ekendriyapramukha-jī vanikāyabādhā //
nidvartitā yadi bhaveva yugāntarekṣā /
mithyā tadastu duritaṁ gurubhaktito me //

It is to be remembered that in Śvetāmbara tradition the '*Caityavandana*' contains a small *sūtra* of ('*Iriāvihi virāhanāye*') which means "I atone for the violence to one-sensed beings while going for *Caityavandana*". On the other hand in the rituals of worship and offerings violence to other one-sensed beings such as earth, air, water fire or vegetables is committed, it is certainly an inner self-contradiction. Probably due to the influence of Hindu Dharma many worship-related rituals and ceremonies entered in Jaina tradition by 6th-7th century AD For this reason, Ācārya Haribhadra, in the 8th century AD had to prohibit Jaina monks from performing many of these rituals. Haribhadra, in his '*Sambodha-prakaraṇa*' prohibited Jaina monks to stay in *Caityas* (temples) and worship of Jina-idols with articles of worship, dancing, singing or staging of dramas etc. in front of the Jina-idol. Not only this, in the same text he describes worship with the articles of worship as impure.

Generally, in Jaina tradition penance-dominated ceremonies are related to the enhancement of spiritual qualities and control on

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demonic outbursts, by eradication of the *karma*-obstacles. The aim of devotion to Jina or omniscient and Jina-worship related ceremonies also is the individual's own spiritual growth rather than only mundane achievements and removal of obstructions and obstacles in life. A Jaina aspirant clearly keeps in mind that all worships and prayers, eulogies, praises and invocations of Jina are only for one's own self-realization and achievement of ones own pure and inner qualities of the self.

The proclamation of Jaina tradition -'*Vande tadguṇa labdhaye*' i.e. the aim of salutation is to achieve the qualities of the omniscient or the perfect soul. Essentially speaking our soul and the soul of *Jina* are alike. Infact, the achievement of the qualities of the perfect soul means only the realization of one's owns self. Thus, basically Jaina ceremonies are meant for self-purification and self-realization. In Jaina ceremonies most of the *mantras* and passages are meant to make us aware of the essential nature of the worshipped or they are meant to inspire us to get liberated from the destructive tendencies in us. Though Jaina rituals by their basic nature are spiritual, but it is a natural weakness of human beings that they want to achieve mundane happiness and comforts with the medium of religion and also along with it they expect religion to remove obstacles, which come in

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the way of his achievement. He believes that *dharma* is a medium of obtaining the desirable and destroying the undesirable. Because of this natural tendency of human beings Jaina tradition could not remain uninfluenced by Hindu religion, and completely stable in the spiritual form of rituals and ceremonies. It did develop some deformities. To eradicate these deformities the Sthānakavāsī sect came into existence, which disapproved of idol-worship. The truth is that, the follower of Jaina religion after all, is the same human being who is not completely free from the desire of happiness and prosperity in his mundane life. Thus for Jaina *Ācāryas* it became imperative to add some rituals and ceremonies in their main religion, which are helpful in the mundane well-being of their followers, and have their faith in their own religion, unhindered and secure. This was not logically consistent for a religion that had staunch belief in spiritual renunciation and the theory of *karma*; but still it is a historical fact that Jainism did develop this tendency and it was necessary to remove or overcome it.

The Tīrthaṅkara of Jainism can neither be an instrument nor an obstacle in worldly well being of an individual therefore the concepts of *yakṣa-yakṣī* as *śāsana-devatās* or *devīs* or as administrator gods and goddesses was introduced in Jaina worship

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ceremonies. Then, it was believed that the Tīrthaṅkara or *yakṣa-yakṣī* after being propitiated by their devotees would bestow happiness on them. Protector goddesses such as Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Padmāvatī, Ambikā, Cakreśvarī, Kāli etc. and *yakṣas*, *dikpālas* and *kṣetrapālas* (*bhairavas*) such as Maṇibhadra, Ghaṇṭākarṇa Mahāvīra and Pārśvayakṣa came to be accepted in the Jaina pantheon. In worshipping them many of the ceremonies of Hindu tradition were accepted in Jaina tradition with minor alterations. Texts like "*Bhairava-Padmāvatīkalpa*" etc. substantiate this point. In the rituals of Jina-worship and consecration of idols or images in the temples many of the elements of Vedic rituals got assimilated which are very different from the basic ideology of Jaina tradition. We clearly notice today that worshipping Cakreśvarī, Padmāvatī, Ambikā, Ghaṇṭākarṇa Mahāvīra, Nākoḍā-bhairava, Bhomiyājī, *dikpālas, kṣetrapālas* etc. have become very prominent in Jaina tradition. This is the other aspect of worship and devotion in Jaina tradition-basically an influence of Hindu or Brāhmaṇa tradition that has come to the fore. There are many *mantras* recited in Jina-worship and related ceremonial rituals which can simply be called the Jainization of similar *mantras* of Brāhmaṇa tradition. For example, in Brāhmaṇa tradition while

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worshipping the favourite god, (*Iṣṭa devatā*) he is invited or invoked and immersed or abandoned; in Jaina tradition also similar *mantras* of invitation or invocation and immersion are recited at the time of worship as:

auṁ hrīṁ ṇamo siddhāṇam siddhaparameṣṭhin atra avatara avatara saṅvoṣaṭ /

auṁ hrīṁ ṇamo siddhāṇam siddhaparameṣṭhin atra tiṣṭha tiṣṭha ṭhaḥ ṭhaḥ/

auṁ hrīṁ ṇamo siddhāṇam siddhaparameṣṭhin atra mama saṇnihato bhavabhava vaṣaṭ /

auṁ hrīṁ ṇamo siddhāṇam siddhaparameṣṭhin svasthānaṁ gaccha gaccha jaḥ jaḥ jaḥ/

These *mantras* are against the basic tenets of Jaina philosophy. In Brāhmaṇa tradition it is believed that the gods come at the invitation of their devotees and go back after immersion or abandonment whereas in Jaina tradition Tīrthaṅkaras, after attaining liberation, neither come on invitation nor go back after immersion or abandonment. In the introduction to '*Jñānapīṭha Pūjāñjali,*" Pt. Phool Chandji Siddhanatashastri has discussed this in great detail and he has compared Jaina *mantras* to Brāhmaṇa *mantras* pertaining to invitation and abandonment of God. Following *Visarjana-śloka* can be compared with next Brāhmaṇa-*śloka:*

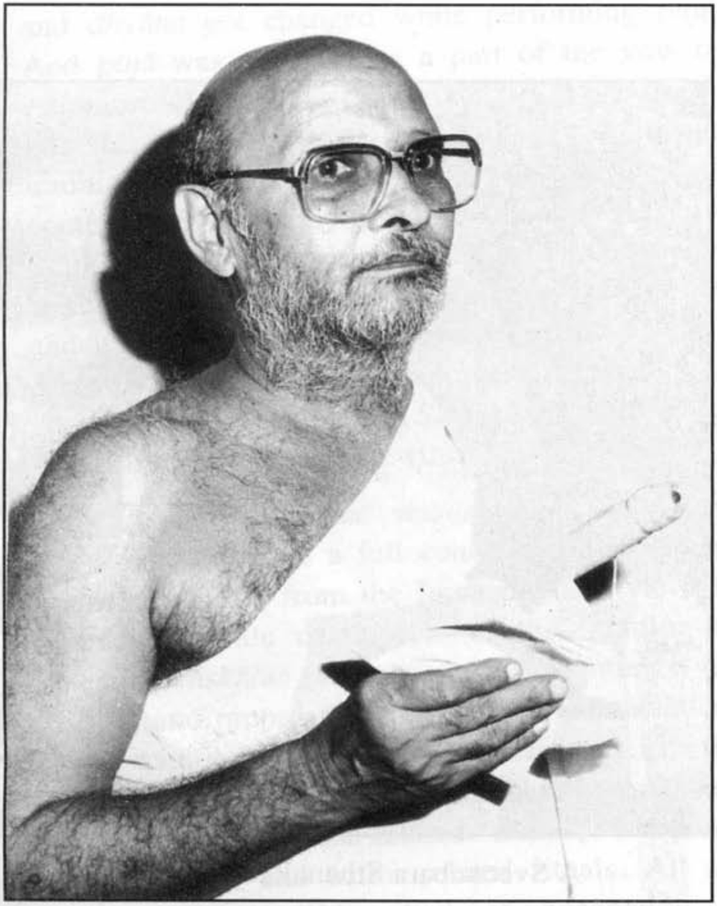
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āvāhanam nāiva jānāmi naiva jānāmi pūjanam /
visarjanam na jānāmi kṣamaśva parameśvara //1//
mantrahīnam kriyāhīnam dravyahīnam tathaiva ca/
tatsarva kṣamyatām deva rakṣa rakṣa jineśvara //2//
-Visarjanapāṭha

āvāhanam na jānāmi na jānāmi visrajanam /
pūjanam naiva jānāmi kṣamaśva parameśvara //1//
mantrahīnam kriyāhīnam bhaktihīnam janārdana/
yatpūjitaṁ mayā deva paripūrṇa tadastu me //2//

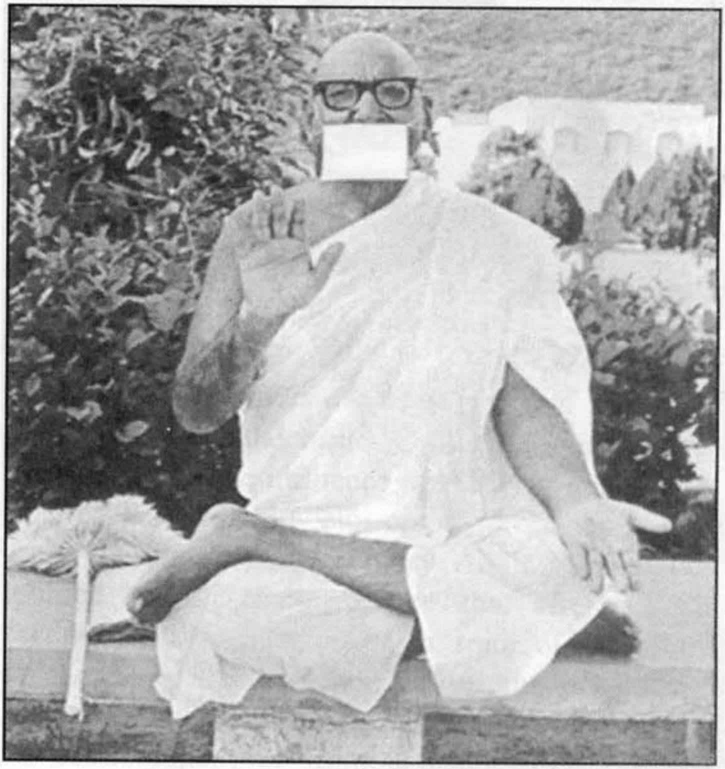
Similarly, *Pañcopacārī-pūjā*, *Aṣṭa-dravya-pūjā*, the practices of *yajña*, *Vināyaka-yantra-sthāpana*, *Yajñopavīta-dhāraṇa* etc. are not in consistency with the basic ideology of the Jaina tradition. When the influence of *Purāṇas* increased, *Pañcopacāra* worship etc crept into the Jaina rituals. During the 10th century AD these rituals assumed so much importance that the earlier practices became subsidiary. In spite of the idol being right in front of the devotee the ritualistic practice of invitation, soliciting closeness worship and abandonment or immersion etc. came into practice to keep the five auspicious events pertaining to the life of the Tīrthaṅkara (*pañcakalyāṇakas*) afresh in the memory. *Pūjā* (worship) was considered as part of service, and in a way, it got the importance equivalent to giving

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A Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka monk

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A Śvetāmbara Sthānakavāsī Muni

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alms. Thus the essential attitude towards *sāmāyika* and *dhyāna* got changed while performing *pūjā*. And *pūjā* was accepted as a part of the vow of *Atithisaṁvibhāga* (i.e. giving alms to the monks). All this is a form of imitation of Brāhmaṇa tradition, though the *mantras* recited in these contexts were certainly given a Jaina form. Is it not ironical when there is a group of thinkers who believe that a Tīrthaṅkara does not even take food and it is they who offer *naivedya* in his service? Jaina tradition has also adopted the ritual of consecration ceremony (*Saṁskāra-vidhi*) from Hindu tradition besides the rituals of worship.

Ācārya Jinasena was the first who in *Ādipurāṇa* prepared a full consecration ceremony (*saṁskāra-vidhi*) from the Jaina point of view by amending Hindu ceremonies of the tradition of sixteen *saṁskāras* generally prevalent amongst the Hindus and prepared in the light of renunciation-based tradition by adding the ceremonies like the Initiation ceremony etc. In that three parts were made viz conception-related rituals, initiation-related rituals and action-related rituals. All the rituals starting with ritual of conception of Tīrthaṅkara till *Nirvāṇa* have been discussed in it. It is clear, that the ceremonies or rituals that became customary in Digambara tradition are influenced by mainstream of Hinduism. No such

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account of these ritualistic ceremonies (*saṁskāra-vidhi*) is available in Śvetāmbara tradition. But in their religious practice they have also adopted the prevalent ceremonies of Hindu tradition in the same form. Even today their marriage ceremonies etc. are conducted by the Brahmin priests as in Hindu tradition. Thus, it is clear that Jaina tradition has been deeply influenced by Hindu tradition.

In fact the original features of Brahmanic culture were adapted into the Jaina ceremonies related to temples and consecration of Jina idols. It is difficult for any tradition to remain completely uninfluenced by its contemporary traditions. And therefore it was quite natural that in the ceremonial rituals of Jainas Brāhmaṇa influences became predominant. But it was certainly a distortion in Śramaṇa tradition. In fact, along with the building of temples and idols, monks started residing in temples, which meant the emergence of the Bhaṭṭāraka and Caityavāsa tradition. As a reaction to this Saṁvigna and other traditions, which did not approve of idol-worship came into being.

The origin of Caityavāsa and Bhaṭṭāraka Tradition

With the creation of idols and temples the question of their protection and management arose. As a consequence around 5th century AD

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Bhaṭṭāraka sect of Digambaras and Caityavāsa tradition of Śvetāmbaras came into existence though the archeological evidences of Jina temple and Jina-idol are clearly available during the Maurya period. In the Śakas and Kuṣāṇa period it developed further substantially. The period between 5th century AD and 12th century AD saw the full flowering of Jaina Art. Indeed this is a gift of caityavāsa and Bhaṭṭārakas. In this period in both the traditions monks stopped living in forests and started living in *caityas* or Jina-temples. Not only this, they involved themselves in managements and administration of these *caityas*. The information available from the records points to the fact that the rich and prosperous class used to donate not only for the maintenance and management of these *caityas* but also for the food and other physical comforts of the monks living in these *caityas*. Thus, during this period Jaina monks became heads of these places. But still, this class of comfort-loving monks led to the origin and evolution of Jaina philosophy, literature and art and architecture and brought it to the highest level of excellence. This cannot be denied. Though in the name of comfort and laxity in the conduct of monks was also growing and that was being opposed in both Digambara and Śvetāmbara tradition. In the Digambara tradition the opposition

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to Caityavāsa and Bhaṭṭārakas is available for the first time in *Aṣṭapāhuḍa* (*Liṅgapāhuḍa* 1-22) of Ācārya Kundakunda. And later Āśādhara and Banārasī Dāsa etc. were also opposed to this. In the Śvetāmbaras the first one who penned his views against this is Ācārya Haribhadra. He openly criticized these Caityavāsis in his '*Sambodha-prakaraṇa*' and said that their conduct was against the scriptures; he even went to the extent of calling them devils in men. Criticisms of this kind against Caityavāsis further came from many other *ācāryas* such as Jineśvarasūri, Jinacandrasūri etc. of the Kharatara-gaccha. Kharatara-gaccha in the 10th century AD came in to being as a reaction to *Caityavāsa*. The original name of this was Suvihita or Saṁvigna-mārga. In the Digambara tradition of this period some sects like Drāviḍa-saṁgha, Māthura-saṁgha, Kāṣṭā-saṁgha etc. were also born, which are called *Jainābhāsa* in the text known as *Darśanasāra*.

Pt. Nathu Ram ji 'Premi' in his book '*Jaina Sāhitya Aura Itihāsa*', under the title of '*Caityavāsa* and *Vanavāsa*' has discussed this at substantial length. Still on the basis of the available evidence it is difficult to say that Jaina *saṁgha* was able to liberate itself from growing slackness or laxity of conduct of monks despite the voices of opposition to it. However, this opposition certainly became

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instrumental in the birth of some sects of Jaina *saṁgha* who were opposed to idol-worship.

The Effect of Tantra and Bhakti-mārga on Jainism

From the Gupta period till 10th-11th centuary AD Indian society went through a gradual moral degeneration; though this was also a period that witnessed a high level of excellence in fine arts particularly in the erotic art of Khajuraho and Konarak. Jina temples also did not remain untouched by its influence. It was also the period when eroticism in art received religious sanction with the creation of Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā - Gopis legend.

Tantra and *tāntrika* way of worship also spread. This was just like a fire in which Buddhist *saṁgha* got completely burnt but the Jaina *saṁgha* also could not remain unaffected by the flames of this fire. The spiritualist Jaina religion also got influenced by *tāntrika* practices. Many of the gods and goddesses of Hindu traditions changed into *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs* or as caretaker gods and goddesses, they became members of big circle of Jaina gods. Many rules and regulations were framed in the *tāntrika* rituals to gain their mercy or to get mundane happiness and prosperity from them. A Jaina Tīrthaṅkara being free from attachments would neither destroy his enemies nor

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grant happiness to a devotee; hence befitting the conditions of prevalent times, the responsibility of looking after the welfare of the devotees was entrusted upon the *yakṣa* and *yakṣīs*.

Similarly, the Jaina *saṁgha* was also influenced by the path of devotion. The joint effect of *Bhakti-mārga* and *tantra* resulted in the cult of worship and *yajña* etc in various forms of rituals in Jaina temples. Jina-idols were being worshipped in seventeen forms of worship like the sixteen forms of (*Ṣoḍaṣopacārī*) worship of Hindu tradition. Not only was the Jina-idol decorated with clothes and ornaments but fruits and *naivedya* etc started being offered. It was indeed ironical that the Tīrathaṅkaras or liberated souls were being invited and abandoned after worship along with *Navagrahas* etc. because of the irrational imitation of the customs of worship of Hindus. Though Śvetāmbaras were more influenced by this, even Digambaras could not remain uninfluenced. Different types of *mantras* and *tantras* entered in their rituals. *Yajñas* were performed in Jina-temples. The religious system of Śramaṇa tradition, which was free from *varṇa* and caste system, was abandoned. On the contrary, it emphasized that a low caste *Śūdra* cannot attain liberation; a social taboo was also imposed upon the water offered by a Śūdra.

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Though in the 12th - 13th century AD, there were many competent philosophers and writers like Hemacandra, still it is not known that there was a powerful and meaningful attempt made to liberate Jaina tradition from the influences of other contemporary religious traditions though on the basis of attempts to reform and on the basis of difference of opinions different sects and sub-sects in the Śvetāmbara tradition came into existence such as Tapāgaccha, Añcalagaccha etc. but still, till around 15th century AD Jaina saṁgha remained the victim of circumstances.

Chapter-4

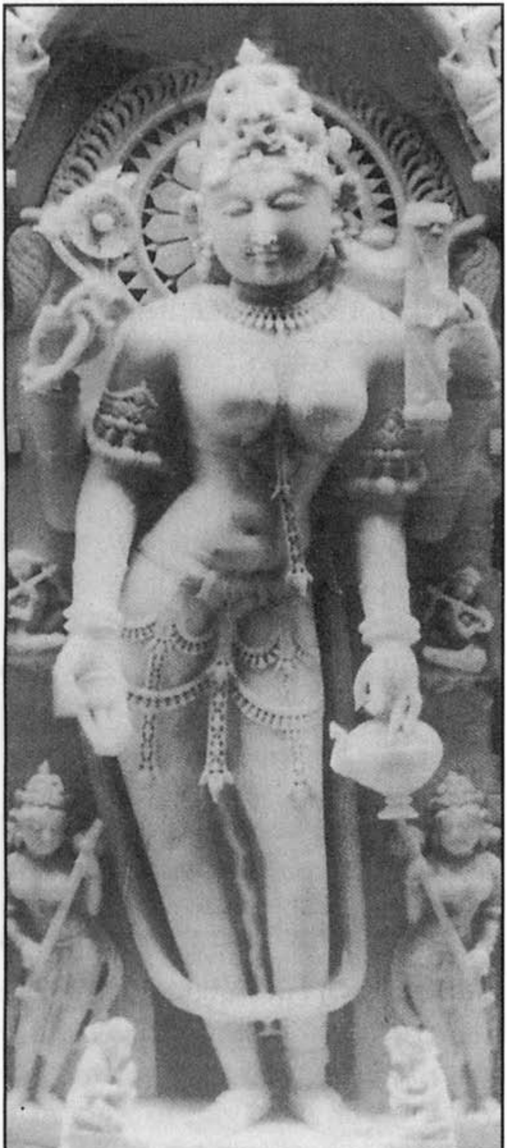
The contribution of Jainas in the field of Art and Literature during medieval period

Though this period was a period of laxity of conduct and love of comforts among the monks, still in the field of art and literature the contribution of Jainas is excellent. Khajuraho, Shravanabelgola, Abu (Dilwara), Taranga, Ranakpur, Deogarh etc. make Jainas feel proud of their grand heritage of art and architecture of 9th-14th century AD. Many mature philosophical and literary texts were written in these centuries. In the Śvetāmbara tradition *ācāryas* like Haribhadra, Abhayadeva, Vādidevasūri, Hemacandra, Maṇibhadra, Malliṣeṇa and Jinaprabha, and in the Digambara tradition Vidyānandi, Śākṭāyana, Prabhācandra, etc. were all compentent *ācāryas* belonging to this period. Along with *mantra* and *tantras* in the field of medicine also Jaina *ācāryas* came forward. The *Bhaṭṭārakas* and the Jaina *Yatis* contributed a lot to the literature and temple art but they did not lag behind in the field of social service with their practice of medicine.

Religions revolutions prior to Lokāśāha

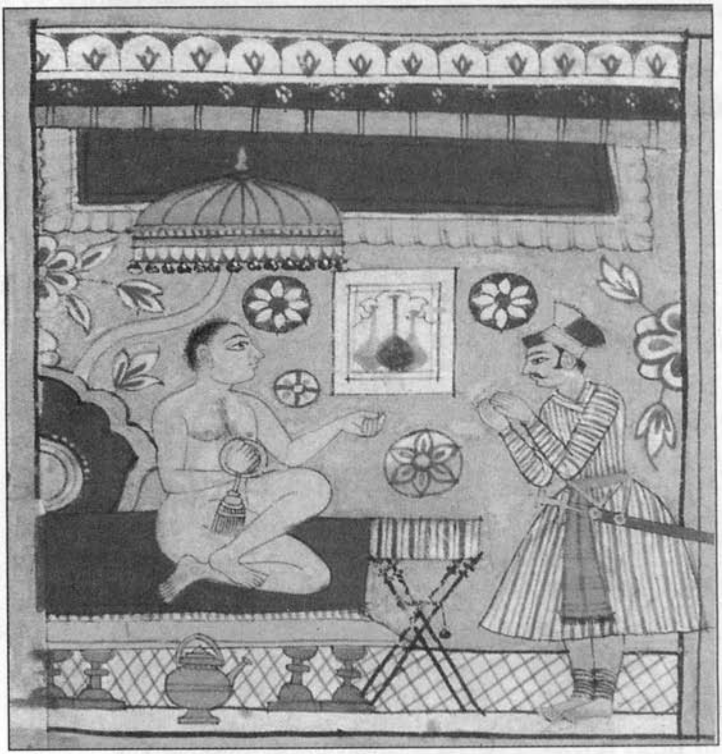
Indian Śramanic tradition has always been revolutionary. It has always raised its voice against

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Sarasvatī in Jaina Art

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A Jaina Śramaṇa enlightens a Prince

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obscurantism and blind faith. According to it the traditional religious practices, which do not have any meaningful purpose, are just like dead bodies and dead bodies are not objects of worship. Thus a revolt against blind and obscurantic practices becomes imperative. Śramaṇic religions have originated as a revolt against these very practices. Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhadeva gave his own systematic code of law in both the worldly and spiritual fields in accordance to his time. This process of change and modification continued till the period of Mahāvīra. Lord Mahāvīra made various changes in the code of conduct and the path of morality of Pārśvanātha in accordance to his times. And the code of conduct prescribed by Lord Mahāvīra was also changed with the passage of time in accordance to changes in time, place and individual's circumstances. As a result Jaina *ācāryas* gave place to newer view-points in the form of *apavāda-mārga* based on new situations of change in time and place etc. while accepting Mahāvīra's path of spiritual endeavour and code of conduct as *utsarga-mārga*. With the creation of *apavāda-mārga*, attraction for comforts made its entry in the Jaina *saṁgha* and later, with the passage of time, it became a symbol of laxity of conduct. In view of this laxity many *ācāryas* who supported *suvihita-mārga* spearheaded revolutions

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for the improvements in their code of conduct and practices.

Jaina religion is a dynamic one. It has accepted changes in its system of rules and regulations in accordance to changes in time place and circumstances while retaining and protecting its basic tenets. Thus, it was nothing new for Jaina-dharma to have various significant changes by different *ācāryas* of various Jaina sects; it was rather an outcome of its basic revolutionary vision of thought. Even before Lokāśāha many events of such revolutions in conduct-related practices took place. Here, we are presenting a brief account of that.

As has been indicated earlier Lord Mahāvīra did not accept the code of conduct of Pārśvanātha in its entirety. It is true, that there is no such difference in the basic principles of Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra but their conduct-related rules and their systems have been different, which have been indicated at a number of places in the Jaina canons. In Mahāvīra's tradition the synthesis of code of conduct of both of these extraordinary men is first of all found in the form of *sāmāyika-cāritra* and *chedopasthāpanīya-cāritra*. Thus, as a consequence a two level regulatory system was created in the code of conduct of monks. This system established

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by Lord Mahāvīra continued without any major changes till the time of Bhadrabāhu; but even in that time there were partial changes according to the time, place and circumstances. In order to give acceptance to these changes caused by circumstances Ācārya Bhadrabāhu had to approve a two-leveled code of conduct in the form of *jinakalpa* and *sthavirakalpa* and *utsarga-mārga* and *apavāda-mārga.* These two systems of *jinakalpa* and *sthavirakalpa* were fully accepted in Jaina religion during the period of Ārya Mahāgiri and Ārya Suhasti who were disciples of Ācārya Sthūlibhadra who himself was a disciple of Ācārya Bhadrabāhu. In fact, this two-level discipline or code of conduct became necessary for another reason, i.e. by following the path of *jinakalpa* discipline with its stringent code of conduct, though it was possible to achieve the goal of self-realization, it was not possible to handle the work of management of *saṁgha*, and more specifically, to preach and spread Jainism given its link with society. Thus, the monks used to follow any one of these two codes of *jinakalpa* and *sthavirakalpa* in accordance to their convenience. But still, there was no such arousal of animosity or bitterness in the *saṁgha* due to this dual code of conduct. Till the period of Ārya Mahāgiri and Ārya Suhasti in

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spite of this arrangement, there had been sufficiently pleasant and cordial relationships in the *saṁgha*. But later, with the passage of time, this situation could not continue. Where *jinakalpis* were the centre of respect and honour because of their stringent conduct the *sthavirakalpīs* were able to keep their hold over society or *saṁgha*. Later, in their race for authority Jaina religion divided into two main sects which, with the passage of time, came to be known as Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras.

The texts of *Niśītha*, *Daśāśrutaskandha*, *Bṛhatkalpa* and *Vyavahāra-sūtra* all authored by Ācārya Bhadrabāhu has clearly given recognition to this dual code of conduct in the form of *utsarga* and *apavāda-mārgas* or *jinakalpa* and *sthavirakalpa*. Whereas in the main *Āgamas* there are only a few indications of *apavāda*, in the texts of *Chedasūtras* we find detailed discussions on *apavāda-mārga*. And later, the *Niryuktis* authored by Ārya Bhadra and *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya* etc. written by Jinabhadra Gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa and *Cūrṇis* written by Jinadāsa Mahattara openly support the *apavāda-mārga*.

It is true that no code of conduct or the process of *sādhanā* for spiritual upliftment can continue by completely rejecting *apavāda-mārga*. But there is in inherent weakness in the adoption of this path in that it can lead to an attraction towards

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material comfort, which in turn can lead to laxity in morality reaching its climax in the complete degeneration in moral values. Such conditions have emerged number of times in Jaina tradition, and Jaina *ācāryas* had led many reformation movements and uprisings in the areas of moral conduct.

The first controversy arose 606 or 609 years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* i.e. in the 1st and 2nd century of Vikrama with regard to regulations pertaining to conduct specially in context of *sacela* and *acela* ways of spiritual endeavours (*sādhanā*). This controversy was mainly between Ārya Śivabhūti and Ārya Kṛṣṇa. Ārya Śivabhūti gave importance to *acela* point of view whereas Ārya Kṛṣṇa was in favour of *sacela* point of view. Because of the movement led by Ārya Śivabhūti to reform the code of conduct a new tradition of Boṭika or Yāpanīya emerged in the *Nirgrantha-saṁgha* of North India, which believed that the highest way of spiritual upliftment is only *acela-dharma* even though it accepted the *Āgama* scriptures and the concept of liberation of women.

Keeping in view the emotional and faith-related aspects of human nature, Jaina religion eventually developed the concept of idol worship after Mahāvīra. Though, only 150 years after Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* the evidences of idol worship

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are found. The Jina idols that are found from Lohanipur in Patna and Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā in Mathura are a strong proof of the fact that the tradition of idol-worship came into being among Jainas even before the Christian era. Instead of entering into the discussion on the point in favour or against idol worship, we will attempt to see objectively as to how, with the passage of time, other traditions were instrumental in gradual changes in the forms of idol worship of the Jainas; and how they affected the way of life of monks. Along with the building of temples and worship of idols the conduct of Jaina monks slackened rapidly. And in both Śvetāmbara and Digambara traditions *maṭhas* or *Caityāvasī* and *Vanavāsī* traditions emerged. For building of *temples and idols and also for their management*, gifts of lands started pouring in; and with this the question of their ownership also arose. The initial archival records and copper plates etc. available related to donations mention that donations were earlier given to the temple, idol or to the *saṁgha*, but later with the passage of time names of the *ācāryas* were written on donation papers. As a consequence, monks not only remained inhabitants or residents in the *caityas* but also got involved in the management of *maṭhas*, temples etc. This was, perhaps the reason why donations were received in their names. Thus, indulgence in comfort and the

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consequent laxity in conduct began to grow in the lives of monks. Laxity of conduct gripped both the traditions of Digambara and Śvetāmbaras. This grew in the Śvetāmbaras in the form of Caityavāsī-yati tradition and in Digambaras Maṭhavāsī Bhaṭṭāraka tradition. Though, this tradition contributed greatly in preserving Jaina religion and Jainology *it also made an important contribution to* the field of social service. In the field of medicine the contribution of Jaina *Yatis* has been very significant. But at the other end they got deviated from the essence of monastic life because of their indulgence in comforts of life and accumulation of possessions. And thus came the resonant voices of revolution from Ācārya Kundakunda of Digambaras in 6th century AD. Ācārya Kundakunda mainly focused on spiritualistic aspect of religion in place of traditional religion. Though, in his *Aṣṭapāhuḍa* and more specifically in *Cāritrapāhuḍa and Liṅgapāhuḍa* etc, he raises his resentful voice against deterioration of conduct but his voice remained unheard, because even in the later period the Bhaṭṭāraka tradition continued to remain strong. Ācārya Amṛtacandra, the first commentator on Ācārya Kundakunda made an effort to give a spiritualistic direction to Jaina *saṁgha*, which did have an impact on Jaina society but Bhaṭṭāraka tradition remained unaffected and continued to

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enjoy the same social status and power. Similarly in the Śvetāmbara tradition there were voices of dissent in the form of *Suvihita-mārga*, *Saṁvigna-mārga* against the Yati-tradition, and then Tapāgaccha, Kharataragaccha etc. came into existence. But none of them remained untouched by the influence of Yati-tradition.

The opposition to *Caityavāsa* began from 8th century AD in the Śvetāmbara tradition. Ācārya Haribhadra in the second chapter of his '*Sambodha-prakaraṇa*' has severely criticized the slackness of conduct and the actions of *Yatis* living in *caityas* and he spearheaded a revolution against them. But even Haribhadra's voice of revolution remained unheard because of the strong prevailing conditions in that period. This class of *Yatis* remained absorbed in their life of comfort and accumulation of possessions. We do not have any *authentic evidence available by which it could be* proved that Ācārya Haribhadra's zeal of revolution had any greater impact on these *caityavāsī Yatis*. A strong opposition against *Caityavāsa* came from Ācārya Vardhmānasūri of Candrakula in Śvetāmbara tradition. He was the first one who re-established Suvihita tradition against *Caityavāsa*. This tradition later became known as Kharataragaccha. The period of this tradition is

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considered to be around 11th century AD. By the establishment of *Suvihita-mārga* the code of conduct of the monks got a new lease of life based on *Āgamas* but the *Yati* tradition could not be wiped out. In a number of places these Śvetāmbara *Yatis* had so much power that even the entry of a *Suvihita* monk in their territory became impossible. The *Caityavāsī-yatis* tradition could not be wiped out, on the contrary the Saṁvigna monk-tradition got repeatedly attacked and continued to be influenced by this *Yati* tradition, and the necessity of rejuvenating this tradition continued from time to time. Thus we see that after every 150 years in Śvetāmbara tradition there were repeated revolutions for establishing *Samvigna-mārga* against laxity in the conduct of monks. After the religious revolutions of Kharataragaccha the *ācāryas* of Tapāgaccha and Añcalagaccha again worked for the improvement of the conduct of monks. And then, again efforts were made to establish the code of conduct of monks on the basis of *Āgamas* by Ācārya Āryarakṣita (Añcalagaccha) in V.S. 1169 and Ārya Jagatcandra (Tapāgaccha) in V.S. 85.

A similar attempt was made with the formation of Āgamikagaccha and Tapāgaccha in V.S. 1214 and 1250. Āgamikagaccha not only opposed worship of *yakṣas* and *yakṣis* and

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caitayavāsa but also opposed worship of Jina-idols with living substances (such as flowers, fruits etc.) Here, we see that in Digambara tradition the opposition to the use of living substances in worship began around 16th century due to the influence of thinkers like Banarasi Das. But this disapproval had already originated in the Śvetāmbara tradition about two centuries earlier. Āgamikagaccha could not survive for long and died with the passage of time, but still Kharataragaccha, Tapāgaccha and Añcalagaccha kept their identity because of their influence. However, these three sects could not remain uninfluenced by Caityavāsī-yativasi tradition. They could not succeed in their mission of rejuvenating the Saṁvigna-monk tradition for which they came into existence. The hold of *Yatis* got vigorously established in Kharataragaccha, Añcalagaccha and even in Tapāgaccha. Not only this, the ostentations related with temples and idol-worship went on increasing. And the class of monks whose main aim was self-upliftment turned into a class of priests meant for performing the rituals. The path of self-purification by *tapas* (self control) and renunciation (*tyāga*) remained confined to the agamic texts. They could not be linked with real life. In such conditions a need for a holistic revolution was felt.

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Opposition to Caityavāsa and origin of Saṁvigna Sects

The wave of change came again in Jaina tradition in 16th century AD when spiritualism dominated Jaina religion got bogged down in ostentatious rituals. The iconoclastic attitude of Muslim rulers was beginning to in shake people's faith in idol-worship. It is at this time the Jainas, like the Hindus came under the influence of simple and unostentatious religious practices of the Muslims. In Jaina tradition too, like Nirguṇa saints in Hindu tradition many saints appeared who opposed ritualistic forms of idol-worship with fanfare. With the result a reformist movement began in both Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects of Jaina religion. Among them Lokāśāha in the Śvetāmbara tradition and Tāraṇaswāmī and Banarasi Das in the Digambara tradition were the prominent ones. Though, Banarasi Das belonged to Śvetāmbara tradition by birth his reformative movement was related to Digambara tradition. Lokāśāha opposed idol-worship and religious rituals and fanfare. This sect later came to be known as Lokāgaccha. It is this, which developed into Sthānakavāsī sect in 17th century AD, which again in 18th century AD got branched off into another sect called Śvetāmbara Terāpantha based purely on the ideology of the path of renunciation;

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with its own interpretation of the prohibitive aspect of the concept of non-violence.

In Digambara sect Banarasi Das raised his voice against *Bhaṭṭārakas* and also denounced the worship of Jina-idols with living (*sacitta*) substances. But Tāraṇasvāmī went a step further. He prohibited idol-worship altogether in Digambara sect; not only this, he re-established the spiritual aspect of religion. The sect pioneered by Banarsi Das grew, as Digambara Terāpantha and Tāraṇasvāmī's movement became known as Tāraṇapantha or Samaiyā. In the *Caityālayas* of Tāraṇapantha sacred text or '*śāstra*' was installed in place of the idol. Thus, in 16th century AD Jaina tradition took a new turn because of the influence of Islam and new sects which did not believe in idol-worship were also born. However, old sects continued as they were.

On the one hand spiritual endeavour, which was the life-essence of Śramaṇa culture, was not visible at all in the *Yatis* of those days. Religion was so much over loaded with rituals that its true essence got suppressed. The natural, simple essential form was getting lost and its place was taken over by religious rituals with increasing hold of affluent people on it. In the name of religion people started to expect mundane or worldly

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favours. On the other hand, as a result of establishment of Islam the masses got introduced to a simple, natural religion without any fanfare or pomp and show. On the third front Muslim invaders were destroying temples and idols which were the supporting pillars of religion at that time. At such a time the need of the hour for the masses, whose beliefs had been shattered by the Muslim invaders, was a religion simple and un-ostentations with *tapas* and renunciation as the guiding principles.

The origin of the traditions of Non-believers in idol-worship

By the end of the first millennium of Vikrama, invasions by Muslims had already begun. At that time the aim of Muslim invaders was only to loot and take away India's wealth and riches; but slowly and gradually India's wealth and its fertile land became the centre of attraction and so they began trying to establish their power base in this country. With the establishment of power, Islam also started making inroads into this land. Ironically, Muslim rulers were also engaged in uprooting each other, for example, Humayun and Shershah Suri were in collision with each other. However, because of the hold of Muslim rulers over Delhi Islam got firmly established. The aim of these rulers was also to establish Islam along

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with gaining power and wealth, as they knew that their empire could stay only if the authority of Islam was established. Thus, for spreading Islam in this country, Muslim rulers gave sufficient amount of comforts to the people. Along with its establishment Islam came in contact with other Indian faith. Indian thinkers started paying attention to the cultural and religious aspects of Islam. As a consequence, Indian masses found Islam as a simple and natural way of devotion free from rituals. Due to this mutual contact a new class of saints appeared in this country, which liberated Hindu religion from rituals and gave it a natural and simple style of worship. We see, that in 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, not only did *Nirguṇa* form of worship evolve but became a prominent form of devotion or worship.

In that period not only were Indian masses seized with casteism and classism, but in the field of religion also there was so much influence of rituals that the spiritual element became subordinate and rituals became predominant. Having established their political authority the Muslim rulers blinded by fanaticism began to ruthlessly destroy temples and idols and to build mosques with the material of the broken temples. The masses, seeing their temples and idols being reduced to rubble and the great stories woven

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around them evaporate into thin air, were disillusioned. The result was a loss of faith in their own religious practices and an attraction for a simpler mode of worship like that of the Muslim religion. As a consequence, there arose a feeling of revolt against idol-worship and rituals in Indian religions. Many saints such as Kabir, Dadu, Nanak and Raidas etc were blowing their bugle of revolution in Hindu religion. The support of rituals in the name of the religion started diminishing in the hearts of the people. This is the reason that many great men were born in Indian soil that liberated religion from rituals and gave a simple, natural unostentatious form to spiritual endeavour.

Jaina religion too, could not remain untouched by this development in the Indian social scene. From the Gupta period onwards, and from the beginning of Caityavāsa tradition ritualism was becoming predominant in Jaina religion and the essence of religion got lost in the plethora of rituals. Religion became an instrument used by the priests or *purohitas* for fleecing people. Ordinary people were rejecting expensive, ostentatious rituals without an iota of spiritual element. Under such conditions in both the main sects of Jaina religion three very special persons were born. These are Lọkāśāha in the Śvetāmbara sect and Banarasi Das and Tāraṇasvāmī in the Digambara sect.

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On the one hand iconoclastic activities of Muslim rulers and their increasing influence in this country and on the other hand natural simplicity of Islam, which was free from the burden of rituals, influenced Hindu and Jaina mind set. This can be taken to a certain extent as the cause of the origin of the sects which disapproved idol-worship in Jaina religion. Lokāśāha was born around V.S. 1475. Though Muslims were not able to establish their rule in the whole country till this period, in many parts of the country Muslim rulers did establish their authority. Gujarat also did not escape this influence. The other characteristic feature of this period was that Muslim rulers had started dreaming about the spread of their sovereign powers over the entire country. But for this, it was necessary for them to take their Hindu subjects along with them. Thus Muhammad Tuglak, Babar, Humayun etc. started employing Hindus in their administrative services, with a view to spread, preach and promote Islam. Thus, Hindu feudal lords and administrative employees came in contact with the rulers. With the result, they were able to see the better side of Islam, which was free from rituals, casteism, and full of brotherhood, which compelled them to think that if Hindu religion or Jaina religion was to be saved it was necessary to liberate it from ritualistic practices. As

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a consequence, not only did various sects of non-worshippers of idols emerge but also rapidly grew by finding favourable conditions or opportunities. In the background of origin of Sthānakavāsī sect in Śvetāmbara tradition and Tāraṇapantha sect in Digambara tradition, we can notice the influence of the form of worship or prayer of Islam which is free from ritualism, even though, originally Jaina tradition had been free from rituals; Thus, it cannot be said categorically that the influence of Islam alone was behind the origin of these two sects.

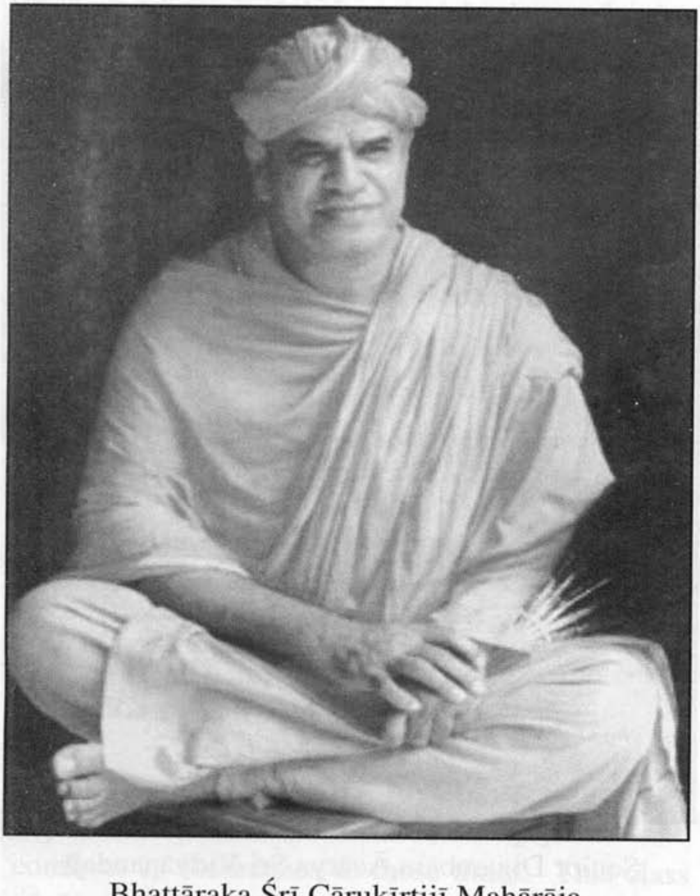
It is traditionally believed that Lokāśāha was not only recognized and accepted as a treasurer by his Muslim ruler, but he (the ruler) also gave a silent approval to his religious movement. The period of Lokāśāha was the period of Shershah Suri and Babar following the reign of Muhammad Tuglak. Hindu administrators were also getting influenced by Muslim religion and its culture, besides earning their livelihood from them. It seems that while working for his Muslim ruler in Ahmedabad, Lokāśāha also got influenced by some good things about their religion. On the other hand during this period Jaina religion like Hindu religion also became predominantly ritualistic. And the spiritualistic aspect of Jaina religion was gradually disappearing. *Caityavāsīs* or *Yatis* were indulging

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in fleecing money from the masses in order to make themselves richer and stronger. Lokāśāha got a chance to study Jaina *Āgamas* when he was copying them, as his handwriting was beautiful, he saw that there was a wide gap between principles and practice of the conduct of Jaina monks. This wide gap of principles and practice in the life of the monks was raising a number of questions in the consciousness of the people. It was a good opportunity for Lokāśāha to evolve a religious tradition with spiritual element and without a ritualistic baggage.

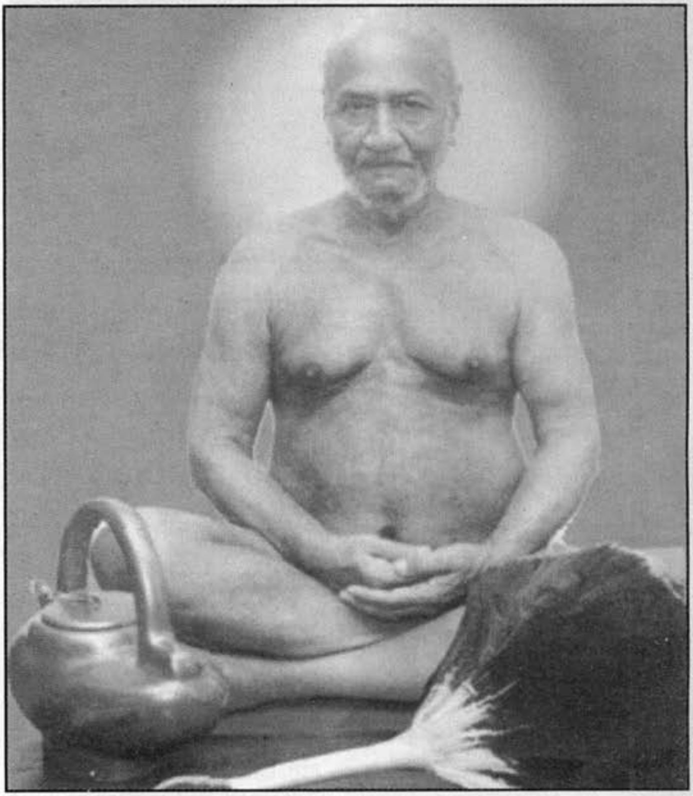
What was the state of Jaina *saṁgha* prior to Lokāśāha? We have briefly discussed this before. Prior to Lokāśāha in 14th-15th century Jaina *saṁgha* was mainly divided in three main sects- Digambara, Śvetāmbara and Yāpanīya, Even in this the Yāpanīya sect that came into existence around 5th century AD was on the threshold of extinction. Except for one or two *Bhaṭṭāraka* seats it did not have a proper existence. Thus, basically only two traditions Śvetāmbara and Digambara were in existence. As to the question of Digambara tradition, monks and nuns did not retain their identity; only *Bhaṭṭārakas* were prominent in that period. But they (*Bhaṭṭārakas*) had mainly become

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Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Cārukīrtijī Mahārāja

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Senior Digambara Ācārya Śri Vidyānandajī

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permanent residents (*maṭhavasīs*) of monasteries or *maṭhas* even though they were representatives of the renunciates, and their main job was confined to protection and enhancement of the wealth and property of the *maṭhas.* In both north and south India there were the seats of these *Bhaṭṭārakas* at different places and they gradually started ruling their followers and administering their respective zones and acting like feudal lords. Even among *Bhaṭṭārakas* there were many sects such as Kāṣṭā, Māthuras, Mūlas, Lāḍavāgaḍa and Drāviḍas, which were further divided in their *gaṇas* and *gacchas.* As to the question of Śvetāmbara tradition, *Saṁvigna* or *Suvihita* monks were not completely absent. However, here also, *Caityavāsī-yatis* were still in prominence and the class of *Yatis* had their hold on the Jaina society and their status was also quite like the *Bhaṭṭārakas.* The *Yati* class was also inclined towards *mantra, tantra* and medicine along with the religious rituals. It was a class of renunciates only in name but in fact, from the point of view of conduct, they had all the necessary requisites available to them for enjoyment and comforts in accordance to those times. This class of *Yatis* was so powerful that they were able to stop the entry of *Saṁvigna* and *Suvihita* monks in the areas within their jurisdiction.

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The influence of Islam, the slackness of conduct of *Bhaṭṭārakas* and *Yatis*, and the predominance of rituals in the field of religion were the conditions, which inspired Lokāśāha to revolutionize religion. Lokāśāha's opposition to idol- worship, ritualism and slackness in conduct gave a new direction to Jaina religion. His courageous crusade had such an influence that in almost the whole of northwest India lakhs of people became his followers. With the passage of time, the large number of his followers got divided into three groups-- Gujarat Lokāgaccha, Nagaur-Lokāgaccha and Lahore-Lokāgaccha. But the influence of *Yati* sect on Śvetāmbara idol-worshipper tradition gradually led to further deterioration in practical conduct, which again, took the form of *Yati* tradition. With the result just about 150 years after Lokāśāha's revolution in religion again a need was felt for a renewed revolution in this field. Thus, Jivarajji, Lavajirishiji, Dharmasinghji, Dharmadasji, Manohardasji and Harjiswami etc. coming from the same Lokāgaccha-Yati tradition again blew the bugle of a renewed revolution, and laid emphasis on the Āgama-based conduct for monks, as a result of which the Sthānakavāsī sect emerged. The origin and growth of Sthānakavāsī sect is not the result of

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an act by one single person at a particular point of time. It is the contribution of different people at different times. Therefore, in the areas of both thought and conduct, differences remained and continued. The outcome of this was that this sect got divided into its various sub-sects at the time of its birth itself.

In the 17th century AD, Bhikanji Swami, a disciple of Raghunathji drifted apart and came out of Sthānakavāsī sect and established a new and separate sect called Śvetāmbara Terāpantha. The reasons of his separation from the original Sthānakavāsī sect were basically two. (i) the monks of Sthānakavāsī sect started getting *sthānakas* built for their own sect and started residing there like those of the Yati tradition. (ii) Bhikanji Swami was insistent on his view that all acts of pity or kindness and charity etc. involving some form of violence in whichever way, even if it is violence committed to one sensed living beings only, cannot be called truly religious or non-violent. With the passage of time, this sect of Bhikanji Swami grew and evolved substantially, and today it is known and recognized as an enlightened sect of Jaina religion. The ninth Acharya of this sect Acharya Tulsi and the tenth Acharya Mahaprajna has taken it to great heights. After the emergence of Sthānakavāsī and

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Terāpantha sects, the other three traditions; important from the point of view of cultural history of Jaina religion, which grew and developed in the beginning, middle and the later part of the 20th century, are:

(i) Predominantly spiritual tradition of Srimad Rajchandra's Kavipantha, (ii) *Niścayanaya* dominated Kanjipantha of Kanjiswami who left Sthānakavāsī sect and joined Banarasi Das's Digambara Terāpantha and gave it a new lease of life. (iii) Dada Bhagawan's sect established by A.M. Patel. All these three sects, however, basically developed with a spiritualistic outlook. Srimad Rajchandra whom Mahatma Gandhi gave the status of '*Guru*' enlightened the masses on spiritually dominated essential elements of Jainism. He was not for establishing any new sect but was purely for awakening the individual's spirituality. Srimad Rajchandra was a man full of spiritual wisdom and a natural and extempore poet. Thus the class of his followers came to be known as Kavipantha. Kanjiswami after studying Ācārya Kundakunda's text like '*Samayasāra*' tried to spread the spiritualistic outlook of Banarasi Das and of Srimad Rajchandra amongst the masses. But where Srimad Rajchandra gave equal emphasis on *Niścaya* and *Vyavahāra nayas*, Kanjiswami laid

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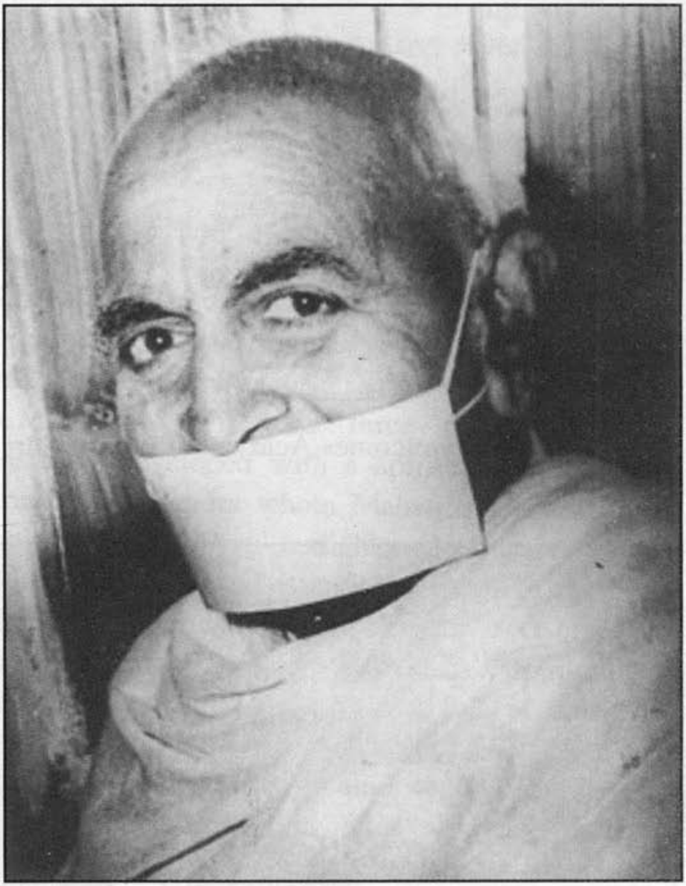


Emperor Akbar welcomes Ācārya Hīrāvijaya Sūri



Shrimad Rajchandra with Mahatma Gandhi

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Śvetāmbara Terāpantha Ācārya Śrī Tulsi

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emphasis only on *Niścaya-naya*. This is the only basic difference, in the streams of thought of these two. The main objective of both of them is purification of the inner self and the upliftment of the spiritual element of the individual.

It is said that Shri M. K. Patel got the light of knowledge in the year 1957 and in his teaching and lectures his emphasis was only on removal of the inner impurities of the self by the individual. And whereas Kanjiswami talked about some order in the changing qualities (*paryāyas*), M. K. Patel who later became popular as Dada Bhagawan talked about enlightenment with no such order (*akramavijñāna*) the essential meaning of *akramavijñāna* is or that the event of spiritual enlightenment can occur any moment or any time. Spiritual enlightenment is not an instrument or machine like occurrence; it is above the laws of physical nature. The characteristic feature of Dada Bhagawan is that he experienced some sort of uniformity in both the Jaina and Hindu traditions in the field of spirituality, and on this basis where he regards Tīrthaṅkara as his ultimate aim or object of worship; he gives equal reverence to Vāsudeva and Śiva as his objects of worship. Thus, his sect is a mixture of both Hindu and Jaina spirituality. The

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special characteristic of these three traditions of 20th century AD is that all of them lay greatest emphasis on individual's growth. According to them, purification of thought is necessary and is prior to purification of conduct. Besides these new and separate traditions, many events of historical significance have occurred in the currently prevailing traditions also. One such event of great importance is that Acharya Shantisagarji revived the tradition of naked monks in Digambara tradition, which had almost disappeared for centuries in the country. Today, there is sufficient number of these Digambara monks in our country. In the Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka (idol-worshipping) tradition attempts were made to unite various *gacchas* and sects but they were not very successful. Secondly, *Caityavāsī* tradition of *Yatis* is almost extinct in this century except for some individuals *Yatis* left. It is present only in name, whereas in the Saṁvigna-monk tradition there is gradual deterioration, in the conduct of these monks. And some Saṁvigna monks have started living like *Yatis* as far as their conduct is concerned. This is an aspect that needs deliberation. From the point of view of Sthānakavāsī sect this century has special importance, as very significant efforts have been

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made to unite a broken or scattered society. Two important and big conferences were held in Ajmer and Sadari Ghanerao and which helped in making different subsects of this sect coming closer to each other. In the conference of Sthānakavāsī monks held in Sadari, barring some sects of Rajasthan and Gujarat, all Sthānakavāsī monks came together and worked together for one single *saṁgha* called 'Vardhamāna Sthānakavāsī Śramaṇa Saṁgha'. But after some time some of these subsects got separated again. In this century Terāpantha Śvetāmbara sect also did a very important job of publication of literature on Jaina religion and philosophy. Generally speaking, this century has been of great significance from the point of view of writing, editing, publishing and spreading Jaina literature along with its focus on awareness in spiritual consciousness. Further, Jainism achieved a glorious status of an international religion because of the international travels of its followers.

To conclude we see that the cultural consciousness of Jaina religion has always been blooming with freshness from the very beginning of Indian culture till today. It has introduced itself as a dynamic living tradition by adjusting with the prevalent conditions of time, space and circumstances.

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